DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY

OPEN LETTER

The NDP Parliamentary Caucus
Parliament Buildings
Ottawa, Ontario

In a lengthy policy statement issued earlier this year, ~~by~~ the Federal NDP Foreign Affairs Committee has decided to dump the NDP's long standing out-of-NATO policy. While affirming opposition to NORAD membership, the upcoming federal convention of the NDP will be asked to endorse the scrapping of the NDP's pivotal pro-peace platform.

The world is trembling on the abyss of nuclear destruction. Humanity stands at a cross-roads. On one hand, we confront the peril of President Reagan's Star War's scenario which would certainly mark the greatest escalation in the nuclear arms race since the Second World War. On the other hand, hundreds of millions of people yearn for disarmament, and an end to the nuclear arms drive.

We respectfully submit that membership in NATO will not help Canada become a voice for peace. As former Premier Trudeau pointed out upon receiving the Einstein Peace Prize, NATO is not a democratic assembly of equals. No votes are held. Canada was not even told about the invasion of Grenada until after the fact.

NATO membership has meant giving comfort and support to the U.S. military. It has involved us in secret deals to place nuclear arms on Canadian soil in undefined times of crises. Canada's membership has supported repressive regimes in South America and Europe. It has compromised our independence in the international arena.

Opposition to nuclear arms alliances and military buildups as a deterrence to war has never been greater. NATO is in a state of crisis. Countries like Belgium are stalling NATO's policy of introducing nuclear missiles onto their soil.

Can we really believe that a representative of the Mulroney government will want to influence President Reagan's military advisors to abandon his first strike nuclear strategy and the escalation that Star Wars means?

As peace activists we have long looked up to the NDP as our voice in the corridors of power against the threatening horrors of nuclear war. Your Party's opposition to Cruise missile testing, against the escalation of the arms race and for an independent foreign policy has won our support in the past.

We have learned to count on the NDP as our voice for peace. In New Zealand, the Labour Party has kept U.S.

nuclear warships out of its harbours. In Australia, it has said no to nuclear weapons tests. Canada should follow their example. Let's break free from NATO. Let the NDP remain the voice of peace.

Signed,

Preliminary Draft Resolutions

Whereas: the Federal NDP is on record as being opposed to Canada's present involvement in NATO and NORAD and to any participation in the Reagan Administration's Star Wars Project, and is in support of Canada being declared a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone;

Whereas: the NDP Government of Manitoba has declared the Province of Manitoba a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone:

Therefore be it resolved:

1. The ONDP declare its support for Ontario being declared a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.
2. A Provincial NDP Anti-War Committee be formed to promote these policies inside and outside the party including the encouragement of anti-war committees at the regional and riding level.
3. A budget for these activities be submitted to the next Provincial Council.
4. Representatives and candidates be encouraged to include these policies in their local campaigns particularly with reference to establishing nuclear weapons free zones at the local and regional levels and promoting the establishment of peace curricula at educational institutions.

ANTI-INTERVENTION RESOLUTIONS

Whereas: the Federal Party is on record as being opposed to the system of apartheid in South Africa and is supportive of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and of the right of all countries to self-determination and economic development;

Therefore be it resolved:

1. To encourage NDP members and local riding associations to participate in anti-intervention coalitions.
2. That the NDP Provincial Caucus bring pressure to bear on the Government of Ontario to expand the ban on economic activity with South Africa.
3. The ONDP at the provincial and regional riding levels be encouraged to provide cultural and educational exchange and financial support for the Sandinista government in Nicaragua including the possibility of the twinning of cities in Ontario and Nicaragua.

NDP RESOLUTION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

from SPADINA RIDING

WHEREAS the war in Central America is escalating day by day, threatening to annihilate the NICARAGUAN revolution and to destroy any hope of a peaceful solution to the crisis in the region; and

WHEREAS the U.S. government's continuance of clandestine aid, approval of $100 million official aid, and disregard for international law as laid down by the International Court of Justice at The Hague, have recently brought disaster even closer; and

WHEREAS the United States has been able to obstruct the CONTADORA countries' efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict; and

WHEREAS EL SALVADOR has ended any pretence at dialogue with the FDR/FMLN opposition forces, and has, instead, continued its policy of forced relocation, suppression of labour and human rights organizations, with no move towards land reform, social or economic reform; and

WHEREAS HONDURAS has become more and more of a staging ground for the U.S.-backed contra rebels, and more and more dependent upon the U.S.; and

WHEREAS hopes for democracy in GUATEMALA, following election of a Christian Democrat government, have proved illusory, with the military retaining control and human rights violations continuing;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THIS ~~CONFERENCE~~ CONVENTION CALL UPON THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT TO:

A. Oppose the U.S. war in Central America, protesting directly to the U.S. its funding of the contra forces, its economic embargo, its militarization of the area and its disregard for international law.

B. Take a lead with other Western nations in forming a second support group to reinforce the Central American Contadora peace process, to encourage demilitarization and dialogue and to uphold international law. Canada should invest resources to back up our statements in support of peaceful solutions.

C. Change Canadian aid priorities as follows:
Suspend BILATERAL aid to HONDURAS while that country acts as host to contra forces;
Make NICARAGUA a priority aid country, backed by a 3-year $100 million aid program;
Stop the renewed bilateral aid to EL SALVADOR while government repression continues;
Continue the ban on Canadian aid to GUATEMALA while military control continues.

D. Increase diplomatic representation in Central America, including establishment of a Canadian embassy in Nicaragua, in order to strengthen an independent Canadian Central American policy.

E. Denounce all human rights violations, including government relocation programs in El Salvador and Guatemala, that mask repression under the guise of reconstruction.

AND UPON THE NDP TO:

A. Take a stronger role, through the Socialist International, in support of democratic socialism in Central America. This should include strengthening the Socialist International in support of the FSLN in Nicaragua, the FDR/FMLN in El Salvador, and the parties representing social democracy in Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica. The NDP should be a continual voice for democracy, morality and peace in Central America.

B. Promote a peace initiative by the Socialist International, to reinforce the Contadora countries' attempts at peaceful negotiation.

C. Encourage closer contacts between the NDP and social democratic forces fighting repression and aggression in Central America. This could include hosting tours, providing access to the North American media, providing material and moral support, encouraging trade union ontacts, tours and exchanges.

D. Promote NDP visits, tours and work brigades to Central America, as an education for NDP members and as a manifest of our concern. This could include promotion of an official NDP tour to the area.

E. Strengthen the NDP INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ~~Foreign Policy~~ Committee so that it can reflect the very broad and deep concern of the majority of NDP members in the present crisis in Central America.

F. Encourage involvement by Canadians, in non-governmental aid projects to the area, such as Tools for Peace to Nicaragua.

G. CONTINUE, ITS SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA, IN PARTICULAR THE GRUPO de APOYO MUTUO IN GUATEMALA, (GAM) COMADRES IN EL SALVADOR, AND COFADEH IN HONDURAS. (FAMILIES OF DETAINED OR DISAPPEARED)

WHEREAS, English-speaking capital has historically discriminated against the Quebecois on the basis of their language and as a result the Quebecois have faced lack of access to services in French and inferior access when they are available and furthermore recieve inferior wages, job security and job promotion.

AND WHEREAS Quebecois working people in their vast majority support Law 101 as affirmative action legislation to re-dress this problem and protect their right to live and work in French.

AND WHEREAS, on the other hand the Federal Government, big business and the federal courts have campaigned to weaken Law 101 since its inception.

AND WHEREAS the Quebec NDP, the Quebec Federation of Labor, the USWA in Quebec and other major labor organizations are opposed to the Quebec Liberal government's attempt to water-down Law 101.

AND WHEREAS the NDP's growing support among the working people of Quebec poses for the first time the possibility of fightiing for a Federal NDP Government.

And WHEREAS, MAINTAINING AND INCREASING THE NDP's support in Quebec depends in the final analysis on the NDP defending the legitimmate national rights of the Quebecois.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT, the NDP join with the Quebec NDP and the Quebec labor movement to defend Law 101 against any weakening of its provisions.

MARV GANDALL
for
FEDERAL COUNCIL DELEGATE

Endorsed by
Ottawa District Labour Council
Ottawa South NDP Riding Association
Campaign for an Activist Party

BIOGRAPHY

- ONDP Provincial Council delegate, Ottawa District Labour Council
- Executive member, Ottawa District Labour Council
- Executive member, Ottawa South NDP Riding Association
- Negotiator for two Ottawa unions
- OPSEU nominee, Ontario Grievance Settlement Board
- Labour writer, Canadian Dimension magazine
- Formerly:
  - labour reporter, Toronto Star
  - organizer, Service Employees International Union
  - shop steward, Steelworkers

PRIORITIES FOR FEDERAL COUNCIL

- Emphasis on those elements of the party program which distinguish us from the parties funded by the corporations and which directly strike at the unequal distribution of wealth, property, and power in the country
- Establishment of a federal Campaigns Department to more effectively support the struggles of labour and all movements fighting for social change
- Opposition to a free trade deal with the United States
- Defence and extension of public spending and ownership against cutbacks in government programs and privatization of public enterprises
- Implementation of the 35 hour week and mandatory affirmative action in the federal labour jurisdiction
- Repeal of the federal abortion laws
- Strengthening the Quebec NDP through support for its demand for a Constituent Assembly
- Entrenchment in the federal constitution of a Labour Bill of Rights, including the right to strike and the right to a safe and healthy workplace
- Establishment of a nuclear weapons free zone in Canada

(Found in 1981) Resolution on "Health"

Whereas" on page 153 G 41. → 1st sentence

All Whereas on attached sheet ↓

WHEREAS the federal government refuses to follow the wishes of three-quarters of Canadians and remove abortion from the Criminal Code of Canada; and

WHEREAS four juries in Quebec and Ontario have acquitted doctors performing abortions in free-standing abortion clinics of charges of either performing or conspiring to perform illegal abortions; and

WHEREAS the hospital delivery system is inadequate and abortion services are better provided within a community clinic setting; and

WHEREAS the pro-choice movement, with the support of the Women's movement and the labour movement and other social forces, has been campaigning for the past four years for free-standing abortion clinics which meet accepted medical standards, the services of which are eligible for coverage under provincial medical health insurance plans; and

WHEREAS free-standing abortion clinics have been established in Ontario and Manitoba and plans exist to establish one in Britich Columbia

Therefore be it resolved that the NDP reaffirm the existing Family Planning Resolution (Update 1983) which asserts that —.

↓ page 153 to the bottom of the that page only

Be it further resolved

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Federal NDP initiate a campaign for the repeal of the abortion law, Section 251 (AND SECTION 252.) of the Criminal Code of Canada;

Be it further resolved that, as part of this campaign, the Federal NDP call on all provincial governments to drop any outstanding charges against doctors performing abortions in free-standing clinics that meet accepted medical standards;

> Be it further resolvel p 154 at top of page 154

Be it finally resolved that the Federal NDP call on all provincial governments to immediately legalize free-standing abortion clinics

ARCTIC RIM

Be it resolved that Canada should seek the cooperation of the other Arctic Rim nations in establishing the Arctic as a zone both nuclear-free and demilitarized, and in establishing joint policy to control its development in ways that will preserve its fragile ecology.

MILITARIZATION

Whereas the world trade in arms poses a major threat to peace, and
Whereas Canada plays a significant and repugnant role in this trade, partly through its cooperation with the U.S. in the Defence Production Sharing Agreement, and
Whereas this role is subsidized by the Canadian taxpayer through the Defence Industry Production Programme,
Be it resolved that Canada embark on a programme of ending its complicity in the arms trade. This would begin with the dismantling of the Defence Production Sharing Agreement and the Defence Industry Production Programme; the latter would be replaced by a programme to assist companies to convert from military to socially useful production within a fixed time period, to be followed by a complete ban on the export of military goods.

No. 9

WHEREAS the federal government, big business and the federal courts have campaigned to weaken Quebec's Law 101 since its inception, and
WHEREAS Quebecois working people in their vast majority support Law 101 as affirmative action legislation to protect their right to live and work in French since English-speaking Capital has historically discriminated against the Quebecois on the basis of language in matters of inferior wages, job security and job promotion, and
WHEREAS the three main labour federations in Quebec and the Quebec NDP are opposed to the effort of the Quebec Liberal government to water down Law 101, and
WHEREAS maintaining and increasing the new, greater support for the NDP among Quebecois working people, which gives a new push to the struggle for an NDP federal government, depends in the long run on the NDP defending the legitimate national rights of the Quebecois,
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP join with the Quebec NDP and the Quebec labour movement to defend Law 101 against any weakening of its provisions.

WHEREAS the NDP recognizes that it is a basic right for every woman to make her own decisions about maternity

WHEREAS the federal government refuses to follow the wishes of three-quarters of Canadians and remove abortion from the Criminal Code of Canada: and

WHEREAS four juries in Quebe and Ontario have acquitted doctors performing abortions in free-standing abortion clinics of charges of either performing or conspiring to perform illegal abortions: and

WHEREAS the hospital delivery system is inadequate and abortion services are better provided within a community clinic setting: and

WHEREAS the pro-choice movement, with the support of the Women's movement andthe labour movement and other social forces, has been campaigning for the past four years for free-standing abortion clinics which meet accepted medical standards, the services of which are eligible for coverage under provincial medical health insurance plans: and

WHEREAS free-standing abortion clinics have been established in Ontario and Manitoba and plans exist to establish one in British Columbia

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP reaffirm the existing Family Planning Resolution (1983) which asserts that an NDP government would:

(a) remove Sections 251 and 252 from the Criminal Code;
(b) pardon all qualified medical practitioners convicted under Sections 251 and 252 of the Criminal Code of Canada and drop prosecutions under these sections;
(c) provide adequate facilities in hospitals or special clinics for sterilization and abortion procedures; and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Federal NDP initiate a campaign for the repeal of the aborion law, Section 251 and Section 252 ofthe Criminal Code of Canada;

Be it further resolved that, as part of this campaign the Federal NDP call on all provincial governments to drop any outstanding charges against doctors performing abortions in free-standing clinics that meet accepted medical standards;

Be it further resolved that the NDP act on this resolution by supporting campaigns launched by coalitions in Manitoba, Ontario and other provinces to establish free-standing medical clinics providing a wide range of gynaecological services including birth control counselling and abortions, fully covered by provincial health insurance plans.

Be it finally resolved that the Federal NDP call on all provincial governments to immediately legalize free-standing abortion clinics.

Labour, Science and Technology
or

Unemployment, Right to Employment, Sliding Scale of Hours

WHEREAS Canada is a resource-rich, wealthy, industrialized nation with a highly educated, skilled work force many of whom are desperately unemployed or underemployed and

WHEREAS a dynamic economy based on full employment is an indispensable prerequisite for an effective comprehensive system of social security,

WHEREAS a planned economy as conceived of by the NDP would initiate meaningful work to meet the basic social needs of Canadians for adequate affordable homes, food, health care etc, and

WHEREAS the benefits of increased productivity should not automatically accrue to the "inventor", to the so-called entreprenurial class, but should result in a higher standard of living for all, and

WHEREAS everyone is entitled to play a working role in building Canada and is entitled to a living wage, improved working conditions, increased leisure with economic security, and

WHEREAS Canada is currently heading into a deepening recession and possibly into a deep and extended depression where the economy will be furtherplanned to serve the interests of the capitalist class [illegible], at the expense of the working class whether employed, [illegible] underemployed, and unemployed, and

WHEREAS an economy planned to serve the interests of "ordinary people" as conceived of by the NDP in conjunction with the trade union movement already calls for the implementation of a 35 hour maximum work week with the elimination of overtime, and

WHEREAS the implementation of such a standard would immediately result in widely increased work opportunities and a sharp decrease in unemployment,

THEREFOREBE IT RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party assign top priority to a policy and plan for actions to establish a sliding scale of hours of work starting with a maximum work week of 35 hour with a graduate reduction of the work week to guarantee everyone the right to work withoutany lose in pay.

RESOLUTION ON GOOSE BAY

WHEREAS present low-level flight training of pilots of NATO countries at the Canadian Forces Base in Goose Bay, Labrador, disrupts the way of lifeof many of the Native People there, and

WHEREAS hunting, fishing, tourism and mining can provide more stable healthy and peaceful employment than can the Goose Bay Canadian Forces Base, and

WHEREAS the training of pilots at Goose Bay to fly under the radar into Eastern Europe is a provocative and aggressive war-fighting action that tends to endanger world peace, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party demand~~s~~ that the Canadian Government end all low-level flight training at the Goose Bay Canadian Forces Base and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party demand~~s~~ that the Government cease all negotiations with NATO for establishment of a larger base there.

* addition

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Governments of Canada and Newfoundland/Labrador assist non-military development in the Goose Bay area by applying to that purpose the many millions of dollars now earmarked for upgrading the Canadian Forces Base

MINUTES
LEFT CAUCUS
held on
Thursday, January 22, 1987

ATTENDEES:

Lois Bedard
Esther Bisoon
Dorise Bolt
Bill Clinton
Gord Doctorow
Manfred Netzel
David Tomczak

REGRETS: Paul Hetherington
Diane Meaghan
Judy Rebick
Tina Zink

ABSENT: Harry Kopyto
Jeff Smith

Agenda was approved as presented.

Minutes of last meeting were approved as amended. (Amended copy attached hereto)

Business Arising:

The secretary advised she had not forwarded a letter to Provincial Office as requested in the previous minutes. She suggested an open letter to the Ontario New Democrat may prove more beneficial.

Moved by Gord Doctorow, seconded by Esther Bisoon that the Secretary send an open letter to the Ontario New Democrat.

CARRIED.

Treasurer's Report:

Manfred Netzel advised there was currently $488.16 in the bank.

Committee Reports:

Forum Report

As both Judy and Diane were absent due to other commitments, Lois Bedard gave a brief summary of what had transpired to date concerning arrangements for the Quebec Forum. The date had to be moved from February 22 to February 26 as John Harney does not wish to be absent from Quebec over a weekend.

Discussion then took place on where to have the forum and costs which would be incurred. It was proposed that a budget be prepared by the Forums committee as to what would be required. David Tomczak expressed some reservation about putting together a budget before costs were known and felt that all forums should be self-sustaining.

It was moved by Lois Bedard, seconded by Dorise Bolt that an Ad Hoc Committee be struck to present an itemized budget for the Quebec Forum to the next Steering Committee meeting. Members of that Committee to be Lois Bedard, Diane Meaghan, a representative of the newsletter committee, Manfred Netzel and David Tomczak.

Carried.

It was moved by Lois Bedard, seconded by Dorise Bolt that should the Quebec forum be held on February 26, that the next Steering Committee meeting be held on February 22.

Carried.

It was moved by Lois Bedard, seconded by Bill Clinton that the Steering Committee meet on March 26 between 6:30 and 7:45 and that the Metro Area Forum be held thereafter to 10:00 p.m. (See attached report of the Forum Committee).

Gord Doctorow suggested the title of the Forum be "Should Canada Have a Defence Budget". CARRIED. (One Abstention: Esther Bisoon)

Newsletter Report

Gord presented a proposal to change the format of the newsletter from the 8 1/2 x 14 to 8 1/2 x 11. Lois reminded the meeting that we already had a supply of the 8 1/2 x 14 with the mast-head. After some discussion, it was agreed that the current format should remain. With reference to the articles for the upcoming issue, the Steering Committee recommended to the Newsletter Committee that the article on pornography and censorship be tabled.

New Business:

a) Left Caucus presence at Federal Convention

As of the date of this meeting, the Steering Committee members who will be attending the upcoming Federal Convention in Montreal are:

Esther Bisoon
Dorise Bolt
Diane Meaghan
Manfred Netzel
Judy Rebick

b) Publicity Committee

The deadline for the leaflet concerning the Quebec Forum and the newsletter was set for February 9th .

David Tomczak and Lois Bedard undertook to meet the week of January 26 to go over the mailing list.

Manfred Netzel advised the Committee that there would be a Coalition for Public Education Meeting on Saturday at Harbord Collegiate commencing at 9:30 a.m. The cost to be $25.00.

Manfred raised the issue about the current printing debt of the CAP group and whether or not something had been done about redirecting the billings. David Tomczak assured the Committee that this matter had been taken care of.

ADJOURNMENT

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE NEW DEMOCRAT

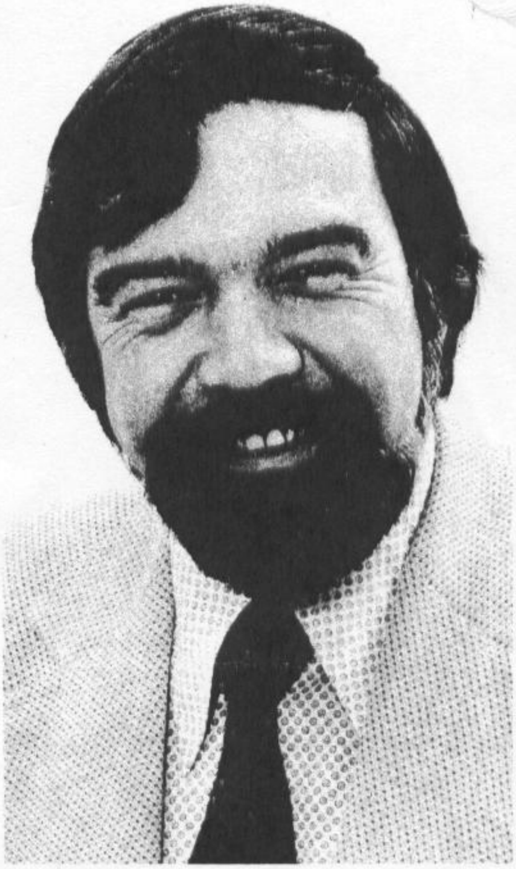
As both President of a local Provincial Riding Association and a concerned New Democrat, I would like to express my dismay at learning that the practice of forwarding Agendas prior to Provincial Council Meetings has ceased to be.

In order that delegates (democratically elected at the Riding level) may effectively represent the interests of their Riding executive and membership at Provincial Council meetings, it is essential that they be informed, prior to such meeting, as to the subjects to be discussed. An informed delegate is one who can speak intelligently to an issue and represent the views of his/her executive/membership.

I fear that democracy may be replaced by autocracy. Unlike those ***other*** parties, we have always been thought of as one which encourages democratic debate. Therefore, let's see the practice of forwarding agendas continue.

Dorise Bolt
President - Eglinton Riding Association

QUEBEC TODAY



Featuring guest speaker

Jean-Paul Harney

President of Quebec NDP

and others...

Thursday, Feb. 26, 1987
7:30 p.m.

- Will the Quebec NDP Break Through?
- Quebec Unions in Struggle
- Importance of the Language Question

BLOOR COLLEGIATE AUDITORIUM
1141 Bloor, at Dufferin
(Steps away from the Dufferin Subway Station)

Co-sponsored by:
LABOUR COUNCIL OF METRO TORONTO
METRO NDP
ONDP LEFT CAUCUS
ONDP WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

For further information: 654-8130

1987?

Join Etobicoke Labor's Fight-Back

The continuing threat of Plant Closures, mass layoffs and unemployment

Hear organized labor's answers

Public Meeting featuring:

- **Dave Birrell,** president of United Rubberworkers Local 232, Goodyear
- **Ken Scourfield,** president of United Electrical Workers Local 566, Sunbeam
- **Ross Dowson,** Left Caucus Ontario NDP

and others to be announced . . .

Wednesday, May 27 at 8:00 p.m.

Lakeshore Collegiate Institute
(New Toronto Secondary School)

350 Kipling Ave. South
(Bus from Kipling Subway Station stops at door)

Sponsored by Left Caucus ONDP, Box 107, Station M, Toronto M6S 1P0 • 233-6132

13

Left Caucus
Executive Minutes

N.D.P. LEFT CAUCUS STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING, JUNE 18, 1987

The meeting was held at Montrose Ave., the home of David David Tomczak.

The meeting was called to order at 8:15 p.m.

Attendance
Lois Bedard (in chair), Bill Clinton, Gordon Doctorow, Paul Hetherington, Harry Kopyto, Diane Meaghan, Jeff Smith, David Tomczak and Tina Zink.

Absent with notice: Esther Bissoon, Dorice Bolt.

The AGENDA as announced was approved and will be reported here.

NEWSLETTER Gord outlined the procedure followed to get the Newsletter printed and mailed. He expressed appreciation for the volunteer help offered by Jeff Smith on layout and proof reader with Bill Clinton. Harry and Diane expressed their appreciation for the help given by the volunteer team in aiding them to focus their articles. The mailing was done by Ross D., Art Gray, Ruth Dowson, Lois Bedard, Mark and Erica Kopyto.

Everyone felt that the Newsletter in the large print, clear margins and larger heads was a good format. We all agreed that the paper as printed would be a desireable prototype for future issues.

a) It was moved, seconded and carried That the Left Caucus attempt to publish 4 issues of the Left Caucus Newsletter per executive year. Harry Kopyto
Paul Hetherington

The Editorial Committee at present is Paul Hetherington, Esther Bissoon, Gord Doctorow, Jeff Smith and Tina Zink.

b) It was decided to produce the Newsletter (after a preliminary editing) on a weekend in Toronto at Gord Doctorow's. The first proposed weekend is October 23, 24 & 25.

c) After discussion, it was decided that the pre-editing Committee should be Gord Doctorow, Esther Bissoon and other volunteers from the Steering Committee of the Left Caucus. The proposed Preliminary Meeting for the Newsletter was Oct. 9th.

d) The articles for the issues would be discussed at the Provincial Council Meeting of the Left Caucus Steering committee on the weekend of September 19 & 20; or at a special meeting on Wednesday, September 23rd at the Left Caucus Steering Committee. The locations will be decided later. Jeff Smith volunteered his apartment as a possibility.

e) The mailing of the Newsletter will be held during the period of October 27 (labelling and stamping) - October 29 (stuffing and mailing).

Forums Diane reported on the Plant Closures meeting at Lakeshore Collegiate Institute on May 27th. Prior to the meeting two flier distributions were made at bus stops on the Lakeshore at L.C.B.O. stores and Beer stores. The Annual Meeting of the Lakeshore N.D.P. was leafletted on Tuesday, May 25th. The leaflet was postered on the Union bulletin boards of Sunbeam and Goodyear and distributed in the plants.

There were 20 persons in the audience and seven wished to be informed of future meetings.

a) It was decided to try to hold several Educationals for Left Caucus contacts, periodically but that we hold only one or two significant, well advertised, high profile forums in an executive year.

b) It was agreed that we set a Saturday Fall Convention of the Left Caucus with educational topics and a high profile person relevant to the topic.

..../2

eg. White Paper on Defence - Pauline Jewett. The proposed date is Saturday November 21, 1987

7. Social The Left Caucus Steering Committee social will be held on Sunday, July 26th at Gord Doctorow's home.

Bring your swim suit, B.Y.O.B. and folding chair. The food to be barbaqued will be provided. A collection will be made to cover the cost of provisions.

8. The call for adournment at 10:00 p.m. was moved by Bill Clinton, seconded by Diane Meaghan - carried.

CLEAR YOUR CALENDAR

July 26	L.C. Steering Committee Barbaque
Sept. 19 & 20	O.N.D.P. Provincial Council
Sept. 23	L.C. Steering Committee Meeting
October 9	Newsletter Pre-editing Committee
October 23, 24 & 25	Newsletter Publishing Committee
October 27	Preparation of envelopes for mailing with labels
October 29	Stuffing prepared envelopes and mailing Newsletter
November 21	Fall Left Caucus Convention

Submited by

Lois Bedard

RESOLUTION

secondary (secondary)

WHEREAS THERE ARE INADEQUATE PROGRAMMES FOR NON-ACADEMIC STUDENTS, IMMIGRANT AND WORKING-CLASS STUDENTS

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY ADOPT EDUCATIONAL POLICIES LEADING TO STRONG SUPPORT FOR AN IMPROVED TECHNOLOGICALLY SENSITIVE APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMMES including joint labour m prog WITH CLEAR OPPOSITION TO CURRICULAR AND EDUCATIONAL THRUST SUCH AS "JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT" OR "ADOPT A SCHOOL" WHICH SERVE TO REINFORCE CAPITALIST IDEOLOGY,

AND FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED THAT ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY ENCOURAGE EXISTING LITERACY AND HERITAGE LANGUA~~T~~gE PROGRAMMES WHICH ARE MOST BENEFICIAL FOR WORKING CLASS STUDENTS

RD's copy (Left Caucus)

Resolutions on Meech Lake

Constitutional Amendment Act, June 3, 1987

1. Whereas Amendments to the Constitution of Canada are federal decisions arrived at by thorough public debate in the parliament by the elected Federal representatives of Canadian citizens;

AND Whereas First Ministers' Conferences with the Prime Minister of Canada are conferences to determine appropriate fiscal arrangements necessary to carry out Parliament's decision;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party give leadership in the struggle to defeat the Canadian Constitution Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) Meech Lake Accord. (80 words)

2. Whereas New Democrats have a long-standing policy of principle that calls for the abolition of the Senate:

Whereas the Constitutional Amendment Act, June 3, 1987 (Meech Lake Accord) calls for a reform of the Senate under provincial representation;

Whereas the Meech Lake Accord provides for a provincial veto over future federal institutions;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party give leadership in the struggle to defeat the Canadian Constitution Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) - the Meech Lake Accord. (84 words)

3. Whereas New Democrats have a long-standing policy of principle that calls for universal, Federally funded, uniform, social services such as medicare, post- secondary education, family allowance, old age security and a number of national and regional economic development programmes;

Whereas Section 7 of the Constitutional Amendment Act governing federal-provincial negotiations emplowers provincial governments to opt out of national programmes and still receive transfer funds;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party give leadership in the struggle to defeat the Canadian Constitution Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) - the Meech Lake Accord. (82 words)

RESOLUTIONS ON MEECH LAKE ACCORD

Whereas the Charter of Rights and Freedom of 1981 guaranteed the rights of women under and before the law;

Whereas the Supreme Court on June 25, 1987 rules that the Charter could not be used to invalidate other provisions of the Constitution;

Whereas the Constitutional Amendment Act, June 3, 1987 fails to guarantee the rights of women under and before the law.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party give leadership in the struggle to defeat the Canadian Constitution Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) - the Meech Lake Accord.

(95 words)

Whereas the XXXXX aboriginal rights of native people, Inuit, Indians and Metis, are not entrenched in the Canadian Constitution:

Whereas the Constitutional Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) fails to guarantee the aboriginal rights of the native people, Inuit, Indians and Metis;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party give leadership in the struggle to defeat the Canadian Constitution Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) - the Meech Lake Accord.

Whereas the New Democratic Party of Quebec is committed to initiate the democratic process of a Constituent Assembly to lead to the adoption of a Quebec constitution;

Whereas the torough debate leading to a Quebec constitution would give legitimate popular support for the Quebec government to discuss with the rest of Canada the terms and conditions of a new Canadian union;

Whereas the Canadian Constitution Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) does not guarantee Quebec's right as a nation but gives nebulous principles of interpretation called "linguistic duality" and recognition "as a distinct society";

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party give leadership in the struggle to defeat the Canadian Constitution Amendment Act (June 3, 1987) - the Meech Lake Accord.

(120 words)

(Found in 1987) July 20/89

Minutes: NDP Left Caucus Steering Committee

Present: Bedard, Doctorow, Metzel, Walter Stuart, Ron Bobker, Anna Christakou, Barb Mercereau, — Bill Clinton (observing)

Absent with Explanation: Lois Stuart, Dianne Meaghan, Esther Bissoon, Lois Mei, Jim Anderson, Avi Rozin, Steve Sobol
~~Absent without Explanation: Steve Sobol~~

Minutes of Last Meeting: — minutes were mailed out to Steering Committee members

—

Moved/Carried: - minutes accepted as amended (date of meeting ~~is~~ changed to ~~Feb~~ June 15 from May 15)

Treasurer's Report: $650 are in the account.

Moved/Carried: — Treasurer's report recieved as information

~~Fundraising: - Manfred gave a~~

Fundraising Sub-Committee: - Manfred gave the report: the sub-committee has set a ~~gol~~ goal of raising $10,000 within the next two years.

* - after discussion, August 6 (Sunday) was set for a Left Caucus Social :- it will be $10 per adult and $5 per youth/child/unemployed. (BYOB)

- each member of the Steering Committee will take a few phone numbers to call

Correspondence: Lois Bedard ~~read~~ reported on the correspondence

Moved/Carried: - that the Left Caucus Steering Committee send $50 to "Bread, Not Circuses Coalition" ~~Circuses~~ (Michael Shapcott's ~~Housing~~ housing activist group)

Discussion of Last Issue: - the style and the length and content of the articles in the last issue were discussed
- discussion of articles for the forthcoming issue followed (ie. the issue aimed at the upcoming NDP Federal Convention in November)

Articles:
- Socialism and the Environment
- Socialist Perspective on Abortion Rights
- [illegible]
- Why A Socialist NDP?
- History of the Left/Right struggles in the CCF/NDP (How the CCF dumped Socialism)
- the Native Question
- The Race for the NDP Leadership
- Why the Left Caucus

Meeting Adjourned: 10:15PM

THE NEW DEMOCRATS

Judy Rebick
Oriole

(RD note: "No transitional demands & of course no socialism. The press gave Rae who gave everyone the opening")

No transitional demands + of course no socialism The press gave Rae who gave everyone the opening

August 26, 1987

Dear Friend,

We are writing to request your support for the Judy Rebick Election Campaign. A creative, anti-racist and feminist election campaign will not be easy to run. We need your support.

As you know, Judy has been an outspoken and courageous fighter for women's rights, in particular for choice on abortion, over the last five years. She has helped to rally support for the legalization of free-standing clinics and repeal of the abortion law in both the NDP and the labour movement as well as among the population as a whole.

Perhaps less well-known is her involvement over the last few years in a grass roots struggle to end discrimination in the workplace through mandatory employment equity legislation for women, visible minorities, disabled and native people.

In addition to her commitment to coalition work on issues, Judy believes that working people — men and women, visible minorities, disabled and native people — *all* working people should be running the government, not the big business parties.

The New Democratic Party is the only party based on the union movement. It is the only party that works consistently with women's groups and community groups fighting around their issues. And it is the only party in which women and minorities can have a voice through a democratic structure.

Judy's campaign is trying to integrate an activist approach into the election. We have organized special canvasses, like a women's canvass and a disabled people's canvass and other special events to point to the importance of involving these movements in the electoral process. You can help.

First we would ask you to join our campaign team by giving as much time as you can spare to help with the campaign.

Secondly, we are asking for a donation. We hope you will consider donating as large a sum as possible. Remember for the first $200 you donate to the Judy Rebick Election Fund, you will get back $150 in tax credits.

In Solidarity,

Carol Anne Sceviour　　　　Nancy Farmer

Carol Anne Sceviour　　　　Nancy Farmer

Committee Room:
1031 McNicoll Avenue, North York M1W 3W6
(at Victoria Park)
Telephone: 756-9220

Authorized by Judy Rebick Campaign Committee

1987, re: 1988 Conf.

- **What is the meaning of the September Ontario Election?**
- **NDP federal popularity rising—Ontario NDP stagnates**
- **NDP/Liberal accord ends—socialist goal queried—Now we have a no-label municipal by-election campaign**

All this and more to be discussed at a rally featuring—

Elaine Ziemba
Judy Rebick
Joe Pantalone
Evelyn Mirialdo
David Warner
Phil Jones

Wednesday, November 4 at 8 pm
519 Church Street Community Centre

Auspices of ONDP Left Caucus
Box 107, Station M, Toronto M6S 4T2

Advance notice of the ONDP Left Caucus annual convention and election of officers Saturday, January 23, 1988, 9:30 am - 6 pm, Toronto. Register today for details.

WS 1988

(Notes by R.D.)

○ What is the meaning of the Ontario (Sept) Election?

○ NDP federal popularity rising — Ontario NDP stagnates

○ NDP/Liberal accord ends — Socialist goal queried — Now ~~a~~ we have a No-label municipal by-election campaign

all this and more to be discussed at a rally featuring —

Mike Breaugh
Judy Rebick
Joe Pantalone
Evelyn Mirialdo
David Warner

? Wednesday (or Thursday) November 4 (or November 5) 8. PM
519 Church St Community Center or
Development Educational Center (DEC)
229 College St near Spadina, side door)

← NDP party members only

union label

auspices of ONDP Left Caucus →
Box 107 Station M M6S 4T2

CAPS → Advance notice of the ONDP Left Caucus annual convention and election of officers Saturday January 23, 1988 Toronto 930–6pm.
Register today for details

CORRESPONDENCE

COURSES

Name__________ Course__________

Subject__________ Assignment______ Page______

Page 1

Left Caucus Minutes Tuesday ~~Dec~~ January 5, 1988

The Left Caucus met on Tuesday Jan 5 at the home of Jeff Smith.

Present were ~~Gord Doctorow, Lois Bedar~~ ~~Esther~~ Lois Bedard, Esther Brisson, Bill Calenton, Gord Doctorow and Jeff Smith.

1) Dianne Meaghan had just arrived home from China (2 day in flight) and had taught Monday and Tuesday and so was unable to attend

2) Manfred Netzel and Doris Bolt were away in the holidays and were unable to attend on such short notice

3) Harry Kopyto had been to China for 1 month and was not able to attend at this time

Minutes They were not available but Gord & Lois had consulted their notes and prepared an agenda based on past meetings and discussion concerning the Conference

Financial Statement Manfred reported that the December bank balance 1987 was

Agenda

- Jeff & Lois reported on a location of the Conference. We have reserved 519 Church Street Community Centre at no cost from 10:00 AM to 5 00

We discussed the need to have an extension on the time even if it costs money Jeff & Lois will look into the Cost

Page 3

plenary session we will go to the workshop of our choice.

	Workshop Topic	Room	Presenters (to be invited)	Chair
12:00 to 2:00 PM	Free Trade	~~#244~~ Caf. (30)	Rosa & Judy	
	Health Service Dilemma	#31 (40)	10 min & update · OCAC Lynn Lathrop · CARAL Dr. Colodny · Clinics & ~~[illegible]~~ Lynn · Extra Billing	Esther Bessoon
	Industrial Health & Safety	#244 (AUD)	Stan Gray Jennifer Penney Linda Jolley Susan Meuller	
	Education	#34 (15)	1. Manfred Netzel OSSTF 2 Doris St Almond OTF (FWTAO)	

Page 4

200 - 330 Plenary on the Justice System
CSIS and RCMP
Presentors Svend Robinson ~~Chair~~
Harry Kopyto
Dan Heap
~~Room~~

Room Chair

330 - 345 ~~Free~~ Break

345 - 415. Resolutions of any or outgrowths of the workshops

415 - 500 Tasks and Perspectives Report. Gord Doctorow

500 Timed Item — Elections

500 - 530 Resolutions continued around the election where feasible

530 - 630 Wine & cheese. #31 or Caf
Room

We will have another meeting soon to discuss progress and revision ~~of~~ where necessary

Monday January 11/88

Part B.

Following the Left Caucus Meeting certain several of ~~At the meeting we~~ members of the steering committee members in carrying ~~discussed~~ the decisions and ~~their~~ problems

In carrying out the decisions of the meeting some steering committee encountered some problems and have ~~discussed~~ the following revision

1200 to 200 PM

(1) Free Trade In the cafeteria · David Tomczak
· Judy Rebick PRES ONDP & Con
· Julie Davis OFL VICE-PRES.

(2) Health Service Delivery In #31 Chair Esther Bissoon
· Women's ~~OCAC~~ Clinics ~~and & clinics~~ Lynn Lathrop OCAC ~~Doctor~~
· CARAL Dr Colodny
· Extra Billing

(3) ~~Industrial~~
~~CS 15~~
The.

AGENDA FOR LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE

The following is a proposal, worked out by Lois and Gord, taking into account previous discussions on the steering committee. It is not only necessary to work out an agenda, but also to derive the necessary tasks once our decisions are made. Let's begin with the profile of a reasonable agenda:

Saturday, February 27, 1988 (alternate March 19, 1988) | 519 Church St. |

Time	Description
9:30 - ~~10:00~~ 9:30	Registration and coffee.
~~10~~ 9:30 - 11:30	Welcome and introductory remarks. Plenary session on Defence White Paper with individual presentation followed by questions and discussion. Possibly include resolutions.
11:30 - 12:00	~~Break for Lunch preparation~~ Plenary with Jack Layton on Municipal issues eg. housing
12:05 - ~~1:00~~ 2:00	Lunch and concurrent workshops. Lunch will be available in the building. Workshop participants will take lunch to chosen workshop. List of possible workshops: Women and Free Trade; Women and Choice; Women and Meech Lake; Free Trade; Education; Industrial Health and Safety (Stan Gray); Middle East; ~~Coalition Government~~. ~~Municipal Affairs~~ Health & Safety with Stan Gray
2:00 - 3:30	Plenary on ~~CSIS (Harry Kopyto, Svend Robinson, Dan Heap)~~.
3:30 - 3:45	Break.
3:45 - 4:00	Reports from the noon workshops. (including resolutions)
4:00 - 4:30	Elections
4:30 - 5:00	Tasks and Perspectives report. Resolutions. Elections (timed item at 4:00).
5:00 - 6:00	Wine and Cheese. (Social Hour)

Speakers:
Gord Doctorow
Jean Smith
(D. Heap assistant)

12:00 - 12:15 will be call for Exec. nominations

3 workshops:
a) Free Trade
b) Women & Health
c) Education

~~(change to noon hour period and change with Stan Gray)~~

Organizing Tasks

1. Get keynote speakers for plenaries.
2. Establish workshops and get workshop speakers to prepare and lead discussions and to designate reporters for workshops.
3. Update Left Caucus mailing lists.
4. Complete Newsletter.
5. Mail out Newsletter and conference call along with proposed agenda and a call for resolutions.

Found in 1988
LC Conference

RESOLUTIONS ON NATO/NORAD

Whereas the principles of membership control of party policy and leadership accountability for promoting such policy are fundamental cornerstones of our party's democratic heritage;

And whereas these principles distinguish us fundamentally from our political opposition and are needed to ensure the broadest participation by the rank and file of our party in the formulation of our policies;

And whereas our party has historically opposed the arms drive and membership in such military alliances as NATO and NORAD, affirming such positions in various conventions since 1969;

And whereas the Federal Council at the 1988 Spring meeting in Ottawa reversed these positions without cause or justification by postponing withdrawal from NATO to an indefinite date in the future and supporting a replacement alliance for NORAD;

And whereas this usurpation of the functions of the membership undermined our party's credibility during the 1988 election campaign in the anti-war movement and contributed significantly to the perception of our party as lacking firmness and principle;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. that this convention reverses the decision of the 1988 Spring Federal Council meeting (which called for postponing withdrawal from NATO and for replacing NORAD with another military alliance) by clearly stating that an NDP government would refuse to participate in the military councils of NATO and NORAD and that such a government would move to immediately and unconditionally withdraw from NATO and NORAD and would refuse to negotiate any replacement military alliances with the United States;

2. that this convention affirms the NDP's policies in favor of immediate withdrawal from all military alliances and opposition to budget increases from military expenditures;

3. that this convention specifically directs the federal caucus and the new leader to promote and defend these policies.

QUEBEC

Whereas Quebec is unique within Canada because the majority of the people of Quebec share the French language and culture and a long common history -- characteristics that determine a distinct nation;

And whereas the history of the people of Quebec has been characterized by ongoing struggles to preserve their unique language and culture notwithstanding social, economic and cultural pressures tending to undermine the preservation of these traditions;

And whereas it is a fundamental right of all nations to determine their own future and to shape their own destinies in the economic, social, cultural and linguistic spheres of life against all forms of national and social oppression;

And whereas the culture and language of the majority of the people of Quebec continues to be threatened by a decline in birth rate, constitutional amendments that would make it more difficult to protect the French language and culture and the national interest of Quebec and financial pressures which exert a powerful force tending to encourage the assimilation of the Quebec people and the destruction of their uniqueness;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. that the New Democratic Party affirms the status of the majority of the people of Quebec as a nation with a full right to determine its own future up to and including creating its own institutions of government and state;

2. the New Democratic Party and the federal caucus be specifically mandated to recognize Quebec's exclusive right to legislate with respect to minority language rights.

WORKERS' CONTROL IN THE WORKPLACE

Whereas Crown Corporations, which are owned by the people of Canada and should therefore serve the common public interest of the majority of people, who are working people, are usually run much the same as private corporations;

Whereas the managers of Crown Corporations are interchangeable with the managers of private, capitalist corporations in their pursuit of profit, indifference to the environment, indifference to workers' health and safety and hostility to unions;

And whereas a socialist democracy, in order to really express the rule of the majority, must be both a political democracy and an industrial democracy;

And whereas an industrial democracy means that the vital decisions that affect the day to day lives of working people would be subject to the control of the active producers of wealth and services in our economy;

And whereas the exercise of workers' control, or workers' self-management, in Crown Corporations would allow working people to place health and safety, preservation of the environment, and the overall interests of the people over the priorities of corporate profitability and therefore would serve as a model of desirable economic development;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT the New Democratic Party adopt a policy of workers' committees, in Crown Corporations, which would ~~oversee~~ be in control of management ~~practices~~, have veto powers in respect to health and safety conditions, have access to the corporate books, be democratically elected, and have the right to participate in the formulation of corporate priorities.

RESOLUTION ON WOMEN AND ABORTION

Whereas the Conservative government has declared its intention to introduce legislation through an amendment to the Criminal Code on the legality of abortions in Canada;

And whereas such legislation would tend to criminalize women seeking access to abortion under certain circumstances;

And whereas the right of a woman to control her body is a fundamental right which our party recognizes and supports wholeheartedly;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. that the New Democratic Party affirms its opposition to all efforts to criminalize women seeking access to abortion;

2. that the members of the federal caucus be instructed to vote against all legislative initiatives seeking to use the criminal code as a sanction against women seeking access to abortions as a means of reaffirming the existing party policy (1983).

ABORTION AND THE CANADA HEALTH ACT

Whereas abortion services are not equally available in Canada despite the Supreme Court ruling that decriminalized abortion and argued in favor of equal availability throughout the country;

And whereas in some provinces the governments have deliberately deprived women of safe medical facilities for abortion (as in Prince Edward Island) or have imposed financial penalties which discriminate against lower class women by refusing to provide full medical insurance to cover abortion procedures (as in British Columbia);

And whereas federal transfer payments under the terms of the Canada Health Act require equitable treatment with respect to medical procedures;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party, as a matter of policy, call for the withholding of medical transfer payments as a penalty to those provincial governments which do not offer full medical coverage for abortion services and/or fail to provide adequate facilities to provide abortion procedures equally available to all women in their jurisdictions.

Spring, 1988

OPEN LETTER TO NDP FEDERAL COUNCIL FROM FELLOW NEW DEMOCRATS

The adoption by the Federal Council of the Report of the NDP's International Affairs Committee titled Canada's Stake in Common Security has called into question the NDP's long-standing tradition as the antiwar party of Canada.

The document states that "notice of Canada's intention to withdraw from NATO will be given in a subsequent term of New Democratic Party government" (page 54), thereby relegating this policy decision to an indefinite future. How indefinite this is is suggested by the evasive language of the document: "This policy (withdrawal from NATO) will be implemented in full consultation with Canada's NATO partners throughout the process and be sensitive to the need to avoid destabilisation and to show flexibility in international relations." (page 52, emphasis added). Simply put, this means an NDP government will withdraw from NATO when the NATO "partners" let us, all the while that we would be attempting to wrest some reforms. In reality, the document is a sustained reform NATO position with the formal mention of words suggesting withdrawal as a concession to party policy adopted by conventions.

Calling this strategy part of its "short term plans" and an example of the NDP's "openness and flexibility", the report sees Canada's role as attempting to reverse NATO's first-strike policy and advocating "a non-offensive defence posture" by participating in NATO's military councils.

The membership of our party have had full discussions in the past affirming our position for withdrawal from NATO. It was initially adopted at the 1969 federal convention. In 1983, a challenge to overturn the policy was rebuffed by the delegates at the federal convention. And in 1985, after vigorous debates and consultations across the country, the position was confirmed once again against the very proposals for reforming NATO that are detailed in the document. For the Federal Council to now present, in a camouflaged way, as its program for an NDP government the same position defeated in 1985 is a betrayal of the uncompromising peace position of party activists and of party democracy.

The Party must reassert its opposition to military alliances by rejecting illusions that NATO is a democratic forum capable of reform from within rather than the expression of U.S. imperialism

The Report also projects the idea of some kind of new alliance with the U.S. to replace NORAD: "We will negotiate a new air defence agreement with the United States, to replace the NORAD agreement that runs until 1991." (page 54). NDP policy conventions have been unequivocal in their rejection of NORAD and any other military alliance with the U.S. By what mandate does the federal council set forth such a departure from the expressed wishes of the membership?

Indeed, the Report calls for an extensive buildup of conventional military forces on the one hand. Yet, on the other, it clearly states that Canada is threatened by no one. Astonishingly, the Report asserts that an NDP government "will implement a modernized defence production program for Canadian defence needs and which will be integrated into the whole process of industrial planning and regional development" (page 38) while calling for conversion for peacetime use.

The Report endorses the purchase of mine-sweepers, diesel submarines and other military equipment in a major expansion of Canada's military budget. Yet the document points out, and many knowledgeable people have asserted, the only war that Canada will be involved in would be the final war -- a nuclear war. And the document proclaims that "New Democrats are committed to the defence of Canada", despite its recognition that Canada is not militarily threatened.

The strategy of security through military alliances with the U.S. makes Canada part of the problem instead of part of the solution. It has been the unaligned nations in the world and the realization by hundreds of millions of people that nuclear arms imperils the world that has forced a reduction in intermediate nuclear missile arsenals. Canada's place should be beside New Zealand which has said no to the aggressive U.S. military policies.

The INF agreement has allowed humanity to think that that nuclear war is no longer a certainty and is avoidable. The peoples of the world must surely be heartened by the Soviet Union's proposals for further weapons cuts, including conventional arsenals, and its withdrawal from Afghanistan. The NDP must stand as the antiwar party of Canada by advocating a world of security and peace through social justice, not through arms production.

This perspective is embedded in the antiwar traditions of the CCF. CCF founder-leader J.S. Woodsworth argued against Canadian

SUGGESTED AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR LEFT CAUCUS STEERING COMMITTEE, march 19, 1988

Registration Desk — MANFRED - Money

9:00 A.M.

(1) BILL) ESTHER) - Secretarial

(2) LOIS - Coffee

(3) ROSS) JEFF) - Book Display

(4) GORD) DAVID) - Theatre style set-up

FOOD - GROANING BOARD - 30 People

9:30 — Formal Greeting - LOIS

STAN GRAY - WORKERS' HEALTH CENTRE

11:25 A.M. — MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS - Steve Shorter

(NOON HOUR)

ROOM 31 - ESTHER BISSOON Chair

ROOM 244 - JEFF SMITH Chair

ROOM 34 - BILL CLINTON Chair

2:15 P.M. — HARRY KOPYTO

3:45 — DAVID

4:00 — JEFF SMITH

4:30 — DAVID

5:00 — WINE & CHEESE

RDs, copy

1. a Be it resolved that the ONDP set up a Task Force on reproductive technology, to look at the many aspects of this technology and the implications it has for the future of our society. This Task Force shall report to Provincial Council by June, 1989, in order that members may usefully formulate policy in this area for Convention 1990.

2. a Whereas the recent [redacted] Supreme Court decision (of Jan 28, 1988) gives women the legal right to choice on abortion and removes abortion from the Criminal Code; and whereas that legal right is meaningless without full access to abortion services; and whereas the ONDP supports the provision of abortion services through community and women's clinics providing a full range of women's health services, therefore, be it resolved that the ONDP campaign for the establishment of a cross-province network of publicly funded community & women's clinics providing a full range of health services, including abortion services and birth control counselling. Be it further resolved that the ONDP press for the full funding (administrative and medical costs) of existing clinics, including the Scott & Morgentaler clinics that work to provide abortion services. —— from ONDP Women's Committee

RESOLUTIONS

1 B Whereas under present statutes M.D.s bill OHIP for services rendered patients, be it resolved that the ONDP move for legislation requiring them to remit a copy of their bill to patients in the interests of widening awareness of costs to public, and of precluding possibility of unscrupulous billing practices; that this measure be taken, recognizing that no other profession is similarly exempt from scrutiny.

2. B Whereas present grants to separate schools are leading to an increased enrolment in separate schools, and to the closing down of public schools, and even, virtually to the selling of the structures to separate school boards, as well as leading, inevitably, to a decline in enrolment in public schools; in short, whereas increased funding to separate schools is undermining the public school system's fabric, be it resolved that the ONDP do what it can to reverse the present policy of heavy funding to separate schools, lest it result in a two-school (rich-poor) system.

M RESOLUTION

WHEREAS THERE ARE INADEQUATE Secondary PROGRAMMES FOR NON-ACADEMIC STUDENTS, IMMIGRANT AND WORKING-CLASS STUDENTS

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY ADOPT EDUCATIONAL POLICIES LEADING TO STRONG SUPPORT FOR AN IMPROVED TECHNOLOGICALLY SENSITIVE APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMMES including joint labour/management programmes WITH CLEAR OPPOSITION TO CURRICULAR AND EDUCATIONAL THRUST SUCH AS "JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT" OR "ADOPT A SCHOOL" WHICH SERVE TO REINFORCE CAPITALIST IDEOLOGY,

AND FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED THAT ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY ENCOURAGE EXISTING LITERACY AND HERITAGE LANGUATE PROGRAMMES WHICH ARE MOST BENEFICIAL FOR WORKING CLASS STUDENTS

N RESOLUTION

(Notes by R.D. ed.)

BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY REAFFIRM UNEQUIVOCAL OPPOSITION TO the further extension of PUBLIC FUNDING OF ANY PRIVATE OR DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS WHICH ACT TO FURTHER FRAGMENT SOCIETY ALONG RELIGIOUS AND/OR SOCIO-ECONOMIC LINES

AND FURTHERMORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY REAFFIRM OPPOSILTION TO ANY PROVINCIAL EDUCATION FINANCING SCHEME BASED [redacted] UPON THE MINICIPAL PROPERTY TAX OR THROUGH THE POOLING OF MUNICIPAL COMMERCIAL OR INDUSTRIAL ASSESSMENT.

O RESOLUTION

WHEREAS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN, ADOLESCENTS AND ADULTS IS A BASIC RIGHT FOR ALL CANADIANS; AS SUCH IT IS THE [redacted] RESPONSIBILITY OF THE [redacted] provincial government TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FUNDING, STAFFING AND CURRICULAE TO MEET ITS SOCIAL OBLIGATION IN THE AREA OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT PROVINCIAL FINANCING OF A PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM be granted immediately at a minimum of 68% of the individual school boards approved budget ~~AT A LEVEL SUFFICIENT~~ [redacted] TO MEET PROGRAMME AND STUDENT NEEDS.

RESOLUTION

P

WHEREAS "THE DECISION WHETHER TO TERMINATE A PREGNANCY IS ESSENTIALLY A MORAL DECISION AND IN A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY THE CONSCIENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL MUST BE PERAMOUNT TO THAT OF THE STATE".

Madame Justice Bertha Wilson
Supreme Court ruling, January 28, 1988

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY GIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS, BY OPPOSING AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT IN CANADA, EACH IMPEDIMENT MOUNTED TO INTERFERE WITH A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOSE AN ABORTION OR TO CARRY A PREGNANCY TO TERM.

(90 words)

RESOLUTION

Q

WHEREAS THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA DECLARED SECTION 251 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE CONTRAVENED SECTION 7 OF THE CHARTER OF RIGHTS

AND WHEREAS CHIEF JUSTICE B. DICKSON AND MR. JUSTICE A. LAMER STATED IN THE DECISION THAT, "FORCING A WOMAN BY THREAT OF CRIMINAL SANCTION TO CARRY A FETUS TO TERM UNLESS SHE MEETS CERTAIN CRITERIA UNRELATED TO HER PRIORITIES AND ASPIRATIONS IS A PROFOUND INTERFERENCE WITH A WOMAN'S BODY AND THUS AN INFRINGEMENT OF SECURITY OF THE PERSON".

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE ONTARIO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY USE ITS SKILLS AND LEADERSHIP TO PREVENT EACH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT FROM ENACTING NEW CRIMINAL LEGISLATION ON ABORTION.

Supreme Court Ruling, January 28, 1988

(Notes by R. Dowson - ed.)

Mar 23/88 — notes

April 5 — 7 30 1519 Church — OFL Miller + Diane Bell

~~April~~ April 24 — Coldwatt

16 present

Prov Council meeting

[illegible] Congress

— Defeated 8 to 7 — Meech Lake High Park

But no one spoke specifically against it

spoke against opposed

favored amendment

income tax — is it progressive

Women — vacant bldg — lower taxes right off

— market value

General

— amended or

— defeat

amendment won

Consultative vote

Bill 30

Solid Waste managmt

OHIP billing — anti bureaucratic paper — Coyean — private [illegible] payments

1 amended —

6 — 6

reworded — requiring doctor submit bill + assure confidentiality

totally out — doctors only ones

be it further resolved — confidentiality — measures be taken

we supported its passage —

Even — unan

Reproductive rights — ✓ women as radical factor

~~Coyean~~ — assess Rosedale — upbeat — about our handful

our study only one progressive meeting interests

best chance ever — the riding

Declared candidates are all Rosedale Doug Wilson

15 delegates — get 3

May 27-28 — Ont Womens Cttee conference, if first 50

entitled 5 women delegates — registration $25.00

Harry K — passes unan but then again — suggestion that more involved re HK

+ Law Society of Upper Canada

Lois Bédard

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR 1988-89 LEFT CAUCUS O.N.D.P. STEERING COMMITTEE

SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 1988 JEFF'S HOME

210 1. Introductions

2. Minutes Wed 2nd of Month 7:30 Pm

3. Treasurer's Report deferred to Fundraising Tasks

300 4. Report on the Annual Conference —

315 5. Report on the O.N.D.P. Provincial Council in London

6. Tasks for coming Year.

A. NEWSLETTER

345 to 1. Editor Gord [writing - Harry

2. Technical Production a) Setting. Use of Software — & Jan

b) Design & layout — Jeff

3. Distribution a) Circulation at meetings and rallies Jim Bell

b) Mailing → Lois & Lois

B. FUNDRAISING - Treasurer's Report — April $35.00 — Income Expenditure

1. Pledges → MPP.

→ Davenport NDP $125.00 PAP

2. Subscriptions - Mailings

3. Contributions and solicitations → mening

4. Fundraising events Manfred Lois Esther

Special solicitation

C. EDUCATIONALS phone * (Welcoming kit)

430 1. For ourselves - Manifesto

afternoon 2. Social - for our Steering Committee

* for our contacts at Provincial Council May 29 100 Pm

3. Forums for our membership — Esther

4. Forums for the public at large

NDP-1 (R.D.'s edited article) (Found in August 1988)

Will the men and women running under the banner of the

and the thousands of campaign activists

the New Democratoc Party succed in winning sufficent new

committed ~~NDP voters~~

support ~~in addition tp past xpmmiy2 xmppmrterx~~ to estalish

a governing majority in Ottawa? We will have candidates in

every riding with more resources than ever before. There will

~~[illegible]~~ 84 ~~[illegible]~~

be ~~more~~ women candidates probably more unionists with a base in ~~the~~ their shops ,

as candidates.While there are lots of problems there ~~is an~~ air of

confidence that together we can solve them x

The credibility of the party's leadeng IN spokesperson is the highsa e

The war ~~order~~ danger is ~~xtxxxlxw~~ still ~~xbbing~~ ebbing. Then how come I feel

so low ?

It must be the adoption by the party's federal council of the ~~reprt~~

report Canada's Stake in Common Security !

While the edge has been taken off it due in large part to important gestures by the dissipated end ~~[illegible]~~ of war nuclear arms build up of particularly war confronts humankind with the continued which such statement as Ottawa

In 1969 the NDP federal delegates at convention adopted a

position ~~for~~ favoring Canada's withdrawal from membership in the ~~"cold war"~~ "cold war" U.S. State Department-dominated NATO- NORAD military

alliances. Eversince then the party leadership has ~~made in known~~ publicly dissociated itself

~~that it opposes~~ that position- particularly Ed Broadbentwho on every possible occasion publicly dissociates himdelf from it ~~and at the~~

and at the 1983 and again at the 1985 federal conventions they mobilized forces

to change the party's policy. The delegates, ~~particularly~~ those

~~associated with the NDP Left Caucus~~ Left defeated these attempts.

-(NPP.2)

It is this position ~~of the party~~ that has become the main

against the party by ~~its~~ such

target of attacksfrom avowed enemies such as the

as wellas from

National colaition and "friends" on the editorial boards

Having failed to rescind the party's

Spring

of such papers as the Globe and Mail. ~~This~~ ~~Summer~~ as the

official position ~~to~~ and heading into the election where it would be under

attack the federal leadership in desperation resorted to a process in crude ~~[illegible]~~ violation

federal election approached the NDP federal council adopted a

of its much vaunted democracy. Its International Affairs Cttee

was assigned the job of preparing a report to go before the federal council titled

~~report~~ Canada's Stake in Common Security. ~~Its a muddled statement~~

While it is a double talking hedging document

~~Its complexities are~~ Its function is crystal clear – to rid the party

but ~~on one aquestion it is crystall clear.~~ With this document

leadership of the embarassing positions defended by the party membership)

thefederal council decrees what it could not convince convention

Whereas policy

delegates toaccept. NDP pd;icy convemtions have been unequivocal in

their rejection of NORAD. tThe new report states that "we will negótiate

a new air defence alliance with the US to replace NORAD..." With regards

tô NATO it relegates the decisiobn to withdraw to an indeifite future

and only with agreement of its NATO partners with whom it

will continue to participate in its councils ~~that~~ ~~are~~ being geared up

~~which~~ Though blocked from working thru the normal channels

~~[illegible]~~ ~~being geared~~ for the election the Left Caucus decided that

it could not remain silent

~~cannot permit the party leadership to silence~~

Its steering cttee met in June to endorse a statement

reaffirming the convention decisions and in particular condemning

the Council's report supporting the Tory government's commitments to

Canada's joining in the global arms race at the time that the "enemy"

areas are embarked on a program of disarmament. the Soviet

While the election machine has supplanted all avenues of the

party the Left Caucus decided ~~[illegible]~~ to make every effort to appeal to the party

ranks. It circulated its open letter ~~along with a petition~~ seeking signatures

possible – ~~to the [illegible]~~ to its ~~mailing~~ bulletin list, to the federal council as well

to the political contingent at the Toronto Labor Day parade, ~~other~~ left press

meetings in the Toronto area, to key mailing lists available to it

The election has constrained this – but the issue is too critical to

be silenced. ~~[illegible]~~ With this success ~~that~~ in silencing the NDP's

leadership the New-Rights ~~[illegible]~~ appetite will become more avaricious.

The response ~~has been~~ which has been papering up as the election campaign begins to peak

over a dozen petitions with additional names have been returned to us

others have forwarded us

September 1, 1988

To: Left Caucus Steering Committee Members

From: Co-Chairs: Gord Doctrow
Lois Bedard

1. We were pleased to be able to reach you or your answering service over the last week to invite you to join us at the Don Valley North NDP Nomination Meeting, September 1, at the Hillcrest Library, 5801 Leslie to a) help distribute the OPEN LETTER to those attending the meeting and b) to hear the:
    - i) Keynote speaker - Bob Rae
    - ii) Guest Speakers - Don McDonald
      - Lynn McDonald
    - iii) Candidates - Anton Kuerti
      and others
    - iv) To see if we can get signatures on the OPEN LETTER

2. Please let us know if any NDP Candidate Nomination Meetings you hear of A.S.A.P. so we can arrange to distribute the OPEN LETTER. Our phone tree for this purpose is:

Esther Bissoon	222-2303
Gord Doctorow	493-6829
Jeff Smith	224-5038
Lois Bedard	233-6132

If your riding has not chosen its candidate, find out when it will happen and let us know.

3. It would be good to have as many Left Caucus Steering Committee Members as possible at the Labour Day Parade on Monday, Sept. 5. We will Join the NDP contigent behind the Colour Party at the head of the Parade. They will assemble at University and Queen St. at 9:15 a.m. (the north east corner). We will distribute the OPEN LETTER to the NDP marchers. For those who find the march from University to the Dufferin Gates too debilitating, why not march to Spadina and then join some of us at the United Dairies Restaurant for a coffee break. It is on the west side of Spadina near the Cecil Street area.

4. THE NEWSLETTER COMMITTEES

As of the Sunday Executive Meeting, the Committees are:

Editors	Gord Doctorow, Harry Kopyto
Layout	Bill Clinton
Proof Reading	Jeff Smith & Bill Clinton
Production	Jeff Smith & Bill Clinton
Photocopying	Lois Bedard
Addressing & Mailing	Lois Stuart Lois Bedard Esther Bissoon

Copy Editors and Article Contacts - The Left Caucus Steering Committee

Because of the school closings, duties, unusual summer lastitude due to the excessive heat, family holiday plans and the uncertain nature of Federal Election, we haven't got all the articles assigned. So we will be preparing to publish our Fall paper in October when the situation that will dictate some of the articles and the copy is clearer to us.

5. PETITIONS

Please mail petitions to Lois Bedard or to the Box even if yours is not crammed full. We wish to mail-in our first Compilation. It will have names that have come in from Pictou, Nova Scotia, Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, Vancouver, B.C., Ottawa, as well as Kingston.

6. SPECIAL MAILING THIS SUMMER OF 1988

In addition to our Left Caucus Newsletter addresses (600) that we mailed out, we added the 1988 Address List (500) of the Society for Socialist Studies of Canada. The hand-written envelope and stuffing was done by Lois and Walter Stuart, Ross Dowson and Lois Bedard. Only 50 returned "not known at this address" came back. However, donations and names join ours on the petition.

To each person that responded to our mailings from this list we sent our last Newsletter. We intend to keep contact with six Queen's University students who wrote, thanking us for taking on this action and asking for further contact (Jeff Smith and Jim Anderson).

7. STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING - SEPT. 28

On Wed. Sept. 28 at 7:30 p.m. at Jeff Smith's home, the next meeting of the Left Caucus Steering Committee will be held - unless too many can't come. Please phone Esther telling her that you are coming or are staging you can't come and prefer the meetir to be held on ? . Please keep in contact with Esther, Lois or Gord so we can adjust to your needs most successfully.

JEFF's ADDRESS IS: APT 118, 22 ELKHORN DR, 224 5038

8. HAPPY NEW SCHOOL YEAR, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS! FORWARD, ONWARD AND UPWARDS WITH THE LEFT CAUCUS!!! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!!!!

TO STEVE SHORTER

In solidarity,

Lois Bédard Sept 28th.

Lois Bedard

Sorry I didn't get to you in time for the Sept 28 meeting. Harry & Gord the editors meet Sun Oct 2. The deadline for the articles was set at Sunday Oct 23rd (to Gord or Harry Kapyto) That was decided before the election call, hope we can keep it!

Lois Bedard

[illegible] electoral [illegible]

background noise. (background noise)

No Magic Formula

The Left Caucus cannot promise instant electoral success -- only the prudent consolidation of electoral opportunities into political gains with genuine activists who are connected to genuine mass movements. The get-rich-quick schemes of the party leadership, by contrast, have proven to be bankrupt. They have manifestly failed to secure their purported electoral victory and done little to renew the paltry membership base. The party base is pathetically small here in Ontario, insignificant in Quebec, and stuffed with paper memberships in any event. ?

Of course, the conventional wisdom had it that this traditional pattern was due to the albatross of doctrinaire party policy. So, campaign by campaign, the party leadership eroded our policy and they installed loyal, narrow-of-vision electoral technocrats to centrally direct the campaigns. More and more the individual riding campaigns became irrelevant so that the party's message became the personalities of the leaders and their television clips.

In the early 80's, Broadbent unilaterally cancelled our anti-NATO policy during the course of the election but was uprbraided publicly by Pauline Jewett. So he attempted to eliminate the pesky problem by moving to dump the policy at conventions. Having failed to do that, he succeeded by manipulation of the powers of the federal council and using his personal prestige to overcome the objections of traditional left critics within the parliamentary caucus. Unhampered by party policy, armed with a smooth-talking position paper on foreign policy which appeared to both liberals and socialists, he nonetheless found himself outflanked by the Tories, the Liberals, and the Big Business press, who denounced the party as both opportunist and unrealistic. Broadbent vitriolically denounced the party's position of "unilateral withdrawal" from NATO. As he thus shuffled to the right, Liberal leader, John Turner, astutely took the opportunity to pin Broadbent to an anti-NATO policy (which had no underpinnings in the form of NDP explanations to the people) and then to leftwardly associate himself with the anti-war aspirations of the Canadian people by arguing against the Tories' nuclear subs while identifying with NATO/NORAD.

Outflanked on the Left by the Liberals

The Broadbent coterie had banked on the idea that the high-floating opinion polls would buoy up the party's fortunes if there were no gaffes in the policy area. Playing it safe was the name of the game. Don't discuss politics, avoid controversy, be statesman-like, keep our distance from the labor movement. Don't even discuss free trade, much less put forward an identifiable working class alternative. Be realistic and run for second place (which led Broadbent to publicly ruminate about coalitions with the other two parties).

This strategy allowed Turner to shift left and squeeze the NDP vote, even cutting into the NDP's traditional base. In the vast void of economic policy, Mulroney carried himself as a visionary. He portrayed free trade as an historic opportunity for renewed prosperity, of course not to undermine programs to rectify social inequalities, but to provide a sound financial basis for doing so. He alone, of the three political leaders, provided a vision of Canada -- at once liberal and entrepreneurial. The NDP strategy was shattered irretrievably by the time of the leadership debates and then

Broadbent reverted to some traditional populist rhetoric about the Liberals and Tories representing Bay Street. In the end, Turner appeared as the passionate denouncer of the Canadian "junior partners" of U.S. Big Business and sounded more and more like a winning left alternative.

/ for being what? acceptable!

This left Broadbent in second place as popular leader and the party in third place as always the bridesmaid but never the bride. The NDP started out, before the election call, with more than 40% approval in the opinion polls -- a trend which had been sustained for many months. Moreover, Broadbent was picked as first choice among the leaders. Turner was in deep trouble, having to fight his own MPs, the Liberal Party apparatus, and attaching himself to an anti-free trade position which contradicted his corporate base. He was universally regarded as a loser, the Liberal Party was in debt and demoralized, and Turner was hampered by a painful back problem. Mulroney, too exhibited signs of difficulty -- numerous scandals, a PCB scandal just before the election call and a high distrust factor among the populace. Therefore, it would be sheer mechanistic thinking to consider that the NDP defeat was to be expected because the people aren't yet ready. It was the party that wasn't ready. In this respect, Bob White's criticism is devastatingly accurate. The party leadership blew it and they cost the labor leadership a lot of money, the humiliation of defeat of a long and active anti-free trade campaign, and the ignominy of being seen as marginal in the NDP strategy (e.g. when Broadbent refused to attend a CAW conference during the election campaign).

Did I [illegible] surprised [illegible] coalition [illegible] all three [illegible]

? what does it amount to freetrade nonclass

However, the trade union leadership's analysis is conjunctural, self-serving, and lacking in alternatives. After all, with the money and organizers the CLC provided centrally and through its affiliates, the labor brass could have exercised political clout to turn the campaign around. But their approach was hands-off and they willingly gave free reign to the professional politicians. They uncritically backed the reformist and opportunist policies and candidates of the leadership bodies for many years. They did not insist that the free trade issue be presented with an alternative vision of Canada -- a socialist one. Instead, they allowed the anti-free trade coalitions to be dominated by petty-bourgeois academics, professionals, business types, and liberals, even though the funds and organization came out of the resources of the trade union movement. There was no push for class politics from this quarter.

inseparable

non class issue CP too

A Long Process of Degeneration

And, it should be noted, that this pattern -- of the attitudes of the liberal-reformist NDP leadership and the reciprocal support position of the union brass -- has been evident for years. It was evident in the Ontario elections. Recall the spectacle of Bob Rae endorsing separate school funding, of running for second place, of supporting the idea of coalition, of letting the Liberals outflank the NDP from the left (even losing two MPs to the Liberals), and unashamedly dissociating himself, and the party, from socialism. That debacle of a campaign was guided by the same Robin Sears who snatched defeat from the jaws of victory in the federal election.

Provincial Council became more tame, the ridings less active. Even the municipal arena was affected. Rae, himself, intervened to stop the notion of putting forward NDP mayoralty candidates, which would have projected labor to power at City Hall thereby undermining the efforts of Metro Labour Council. ?

NDP members of parliament found a commercial value attached to their retirement. Stephen Lewis, for example, became Canada's ambassador to the UN for the Tories, a post in which he acquitted himself well as a left cover for a government committed to the role of U.S. imperialism. Former Manitoba NDP leader Ed Schreyer became Her Majesty's representative in the Trudeau court as the exalted Governor-General. Ian Deans, the NDP Hamilton MP and former candidate for the Ontario leadership, after announcing his resignation because of this abhorrence of Tory government, unabashedly accepted a post as top civil servant, with all the usual perks, for a Tory government. Tommy Douglas, whose name inspires reminiscences of the social gospel found himself on the Board of Directors of Husky Oil. And former CLC leader Dennis McDermott, the macho mouth of tough labor occupies a genteel residence as Canada's ambassador to Ireland. The CCF/NDP's tradition of selfless struggle to bring about a new social order has been supplanted by parliamentary corruption.

The upshot of all this is that we entered each election with a weak membership base, an image of *realpolitik* with no perspective of making new gains for power, and a party apparatus ever more remote from the membership. After all, it was this apparatus in its rarefied wisdom that decided to hold the 1988 Provincial Convention in Thunder BAy resulting in a very poorly attended event.

Party policy, both provincially and nationally, became a set of options for the leadership. So Broadbent and Rae went for the Meech Lake Accord to the chagrin of feminists, our Quebecois colleagues, our colleagues in the Territories, the BC NDP Convention, native activists. Party policy to elucidate the nature of the struggle and to remove the opaque misunderstanding of what the NDP is by the masses has become irrelevant. The striving for power along the lines of successful bourgeois parties and with a cynical regard toward the people overtook the party.

has overtaken

just the opposite

This strategy does not require politically aware activists, active ridings, mobilizations in struggles, educational campaigns. It relies on gimmicks. This thinking allowed the leadership to make ambiguous compromises on the French language issue with the Quebec wing of the party without due regard to the political scaffolding that was required to erect a solid foundation in the nationalist aspirations of the Quebecois working class. It allowed it to ignore the most important struggle of native peoples in the Lubicon victory during the campaign. It allowed it to cynically eject our principled anti-NATO/NORAD stance believing that their projected new gains would cancel out any post-election repercussions while silencing the critics during the campaign.

Win the NDP to Socialism

What we have is an NDP leadership without an ideological bottom line as far as socialism is concerned. The membership is rudderless and left to hard slogging to repay the party debts and bear the demoralizing burden of continuous, uninspiring leadership. This bodes ill not only for the party as a whole but also for the Left Caucus. Why would leftwing activists want to continue to play a role within the party when it is so entrenched in the mire of bourgeois ideologues? Even if Robin Sears were dumped, the problems would still remain. Why would new activists join to augment the ranks of the left when it seems so futile?

Tasks and Perspectives

out with the Broadbent team

There are some hopeful signs and we should assess them realistically and soberly. First, we now have a new lever of opposition. The labor movement has openly expressed its criticisms, and even though they want to contain the dissidence, nonetheless it offers for the first time a basis for a serious large-scale working class opposition. Second, many others are responding to the debacle in an openly critical way -- this includes MPs, defeated candidates, and party activists who perhaps have been reluctant to express their disquiet in the past. Third, the Left Caucus exists as a well recognized and legitimate force. Our Manifesto and the Open Letter regarding the NATO/NORAD issue have established our credibility not only as principled socialists but also as those who have clear insight and a realistic grasp of the political problems. Fourth, the Broadbent leadership is washed up, and it is only a matter of shord time before he resigns. The preparations leading up to the August federal convention will allow us the means to intervence at the policy level, to offer our critique to a wide NDP audience, and to influence the renewal of leadership. Conversely, the staid leadership of the party have a bad record to defend and are doubtless in some disarray.

~~by~~ no means

we should call for it

reformist has to be killed

onto Socialist

These perspectives lead to some clear tasks.

*We must renew our public forum program to discuss politics with other New Democrats. We should use the forums to establish new connections into the labor movement and among other dissidents.

*We should continue to put out the Newsletter with hard-hitting analysis and seek to extend its base.

*We need to establish a correspondence team which will receive and initiate new connections inside the party. We should think of sending out speakers to out of metro Toronto areas.

*We need to structure committees to formulate resolutions and consult with other groups in the party, e.g. our Quebecois colleagues.

*We need to broaden our representation in the steering committee and renew an activist base.

*We need to work right away on holding an Ontario Left Caucus Conference. Above all, we need to be bold, confident and imaginitive.

The opportunities are before us. What is required is leadership. We must be that leadership.

Gord Doctorow
Jan. 8/89

Elections + soc
chance to
change to
This election a defeat for the party - for socialism
make sure it exposes the reformist
leadership
Can't let them get away with
this -

have to make it a policy issue
they all guilty with Broadbent
scapegoat
Communist
Newsletter
the conference
-- has to be sharp
no fence sitting
~~not ceasefire~~ but war -
free class ~~[illegible]~~ struggle daily
soc perspective

Lois

N.D.P. LEFT CAUCUS - MEETING JANUARY 11, 1989 (Jeff's place)

1. Call to order
2. Secretary Jim Anderson
   TREASURERS REPORT MANFRED $ ±500.00
3. Attendance & Welcome — 8 persons
4. Timed item: Gord Doctorow - Post Election Analysis
5. Annual ~~Convention~~ 1989 CONFERENCE of Left Caucus — CRISIS IN THE NDP - THE WAY FORWARD
   - Date - ~~MARCH 3 and 4~~ FEB 24 & 25
   - Location - 519 CHURCH STREET ON SATURDAY 25 only
   - Fri. night forum FEB 24 -
     - Candidate ANTON KUERTI
     - Pres. of Labour Council LINDA TORNEY
     - Member of Federal Parliament DAN HEAP / SVEND ROBINSON
     - Member of left Caucus DAVID TOMCSAK

     LOCATION — ?
     COMMITTEE HARRY, GORD, DAVE TOMCZAK
   - Saturday FEB 25 - Workshops
     - Plenary, Quebec President N.D.P. Workshop AM or PM
     - 519 CHURCH STREET → Plenary, Workshops ~~P~~ PM or AM — SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR THE NDP
     - Lunch BROUGHT IN — GROANING BOARD
6. Correspondence Committee - Steve Pybus 20 copies of everything
   JIM ANDERSON; BILL; JOE;
7. Provincial Council Actions noon or post daily debate meeting
8. Federal Convention Actions Resolutions Committee: JOE STEINBOK, JIM ANDERSON, MANFRED, WARREN
9. Newsletter - Diane Meaghan's Report Tabled to Jan 24 →
10. House meeting on, "Sexism, Racism, Feminism and Socialism" Tues Jan 24 730 PM Diane Meaghan's home

9 Newsletter Committees and Deadlines

Deadline for articles Jan 27/89 Harry Gord

Deadline for set-up & runoff Feb 3/89 Jeff, Bill, Harry, Gord

Mailing Feb 10 1989 Lois Stewart Esther Bissoon, Lois Bédard

1 Attendance (7) Gord Lois, Manfred, Harry, Jim Anderson Jeff, Diane

(4) Joe, Ari Rosen, Warren Kaiser,

Sorry	Not contacted	Unknown
Lois Stewart Steve Shorter Bill	Brenda	Esther Bissoon

Left Caucus of the N.D.P.
Box 107, Station M
Toronto, Ontario M6S 4T2

February 1, 1989

Julie Davis
Secretary Treasurer
Ontario Federation of Labour
15 Gervais Drive,
Don Mills, Ont. M3C 1Y8

Dear Julie:

This letter is to confirm your willingness to speak at the Left Caucus' 1989-90 Conference on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25th, at the 519 Church Street Community Centre from 9:40 to 11:00 a.m. in the panel on WOMEN'S STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY.

We are pleased to have you lead that part of the Panel concerned with PAY EQUITY AND THE O.F.L.'S POLICY.

We are looking at Federal, Provincial and Municipal responsibilities for the N.D.P. to feature at the August Winnipeg Federal N.D.P. Convention. We would be interested in your leadership on this area of women's struggle for equality.

We would be pleased to have you attend the entire Convention. After lunch there will be a presentation by Roland Morin, Leader of the Quebec N.D.P.

Our programme in printed form will be mailed to you as soon as it is available.

Your sincerely,

Lois Bédard

Lois Bedard, Co-Chair

1320 Islington Ave.
Apt. 2108
Islington, Ont. M9A 5C6

233-6132

ONDP LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE

REGISTRATION Open to N.D.P. Members

REGISTRATION FEE

A - WHOLE DAY 9:00 AM - 6:30 PM Plus Lunch $15.00

or

B - HALF DAY Plus Lunch $10.00

Morning Plus Lunch
or
Afternoon Plus Lunch

VOTING RESTRICTED TO PAID SUBSCRIBERS OF THE O.N.D.P. LEFT CAUCUS NEWSLETTER

NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS: Available today. . . $10.00

MAIL YOUR WRITTEN APPLICATION BEFORE FEB. 17, 1989 WITH YOUR CHEQUE TO:

BOX 107
STATION M
TORONTO, ONT.
M6S 4T2

(OR)

- Bring your completed registration and cash to the Conference

P.T.O.

O.N.D.P. LEFT CAUCUS FORUM

FRIDAY, FEB. 24, 1989

7:30 P.M.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE N.D.P. ?

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

SPEAKERS

ROLAND MORIN - LEADER N.D.P. QUEBEC

DAN HEAP - M.P. TRINITY - SPADINA

HOWARD McCURDY - M.P. WINDSOR-LAKE ST. CLAIR

SUSIE VALLANCE - OFL VICE PRESIDENT, OPSEU SCARBOROUGH- AGINCOURT

ANNE ADELSON - NDP CANDIDATE, WILLOWDALE

GORD DOCTOROW - CO-CHAIR OF ONDP LEFT CAUCUS

BLOOR COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE
1140 BLOOR STREET, WEST - Bloor & Dufferin Subway

1989-90 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

THE O.N.D.P. LEFT CAUCUS

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1989

9:00 AM TO 6:30 PM

THE 519 CHURCH STREET
COMMUNITY CENTRE

CHURCH & WELLESLEY STREETS

Left Caucus

REGISTRATION BLANK

NDP RIDING ______________________________

PROVINCIAL ______________________________

FEDERAL ______________________________

NAME ______________________________

ADDRESS ______________________________

CITY ______________________________

POSTAL CODE ____________ PHONE NO. ____________

FEE (CHEQUE IF MAILED
CASH IF REGISTERING ON FEB. 25, 1989)

☐ FULL DAY (Plus Lunch) - 12:30-1:30 $15.00 ________
☐ HALF DAY Plus Lunch - 12:30-1:30 $10.00 ________
☐ HALF DAY Lunch - 12:30-1:30
Plus AFTERNOON $10.00 ________
☐ SUBSCRIPTION, 1989-90 L.C. NEWSLETTER
$10.00 ________

TOTAL $ ________

RETURN TO:

ONDP LEFT CAUCUS:
BOX 107, STATION M, TORONTO, ONT. M6S 4T2

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE NDP

& Where Do We Go From Here?

Friday, February 24, 1989
7:30 p.m.

FEATURING

Roland Morin - Leader Quebec NDP
Howard McCurdy - MP Windsor-Lake St. Clair
Dan Heap - MP Trinity-Spadina
Susie Vallance - Vice-president OFL, OPSEU
Gord Doctorow - Co-chair ONDP Left Caucus
and others...

All welcome—Questions and Discussion

Bloor Collegiate Institute
1140 Bloor St. West,
(Steps from Bloor & Dufferin subway station)

All Day Conference Saturday February 25, 9 a.m. to 6:30 p.m.
at 519 Church St. Community Centre
Among the participants will be
Charles Roach, Harry Kopyto, Ross Dowson, Regula Modlich

ONDP Left Caucus, PO Box 107, Station M, Toronto M6S 4T2

SPEECH TO THE LEFT CAUCUS FORUM

Introduction

The roots of the 1988 federal election campaign debacle go deep and long. The NDP vote stagnated since the previous election. We experienced serious losses at a time of great expectation. In Ontario, we saw Michael Cassidy, Marian Dewar, and Lynn McDonald all go down to defeat. As serious as these losses were, even more tragic was the loss of David Orlikow's seat in Winnipeg, a longstanding bastion of CCF/NDP strength. We have no seats east of Ontario, no breakthrough in Quebec. Our only gains were in Saskatchewan, the result of a fortuitious backlash against the provincial Tory government, and in BC, where the ultra-right split the Tory vote so that the NDP was able to make gains without increasing the percentage of the popular vote. Forty-three seats represent the highest representation the NDP has ever had, but we are still in third place.

Should we have expected more?

The NDP started out, before the election call, with more than 40% approval in the opinion polls -- a trend which had been sustained for many months. Moreover, Broadbent was picked as first choice among the leaders. Some argue that the polls were a mere blip and that they are inherently inaccurate (although it is interesting to note that often these same pundits swear by the polls when justifying Broadbent's backing away from the NATO/NORAD issues). The free trade debate demonstrates the volatility of opinion polls. Before the TV debates of the three party leaders, the polls indicated that a majority of Canadians were in favor of free trade; after the debate, opinion was reversed. Of course, this showed that much of the pro-free trade sentiment was soft and subject to political influence. The new surge in favor of the NDP, however, had been sustained over a period of a year or two. Moreover, the polls had created a new perception and expectation among the population that the NDP was poised for governmental power. This was confirmed in the reactions of voters during canvassing in the 1987 Ontario election.

Turner was in deep trouble, having to fight his own MPs, the Liberal Party apparatus, and attaching himself to an anti-free trade position which contradicted his corporate base. Remember that for decades the Liberal Party has been the continentalist party of Canada *par excellence*. He was universally regarded as a loser, the Liberal Party was in debt and demoralized, and Turner was hampered by a painful back problem. Mulroney, too, exhibited signs of difficulty -- numerous scandals, a PCB scandal just before the election call and a high distrust factor among the populace. Therefore, it would be sheer mechanistic thinking to consider that the NDP defeat was to be expected because the people aren't yet ready. **It was the party that wasn't ready.** In this respect, Bob White's criticism is devastatingly accurate. The party leadership blew it and they cost the labor leadership a lot of money, the humiliation of defeat of a long and active anti-free trade campaign, and the ignominy of being seen as marginal in the NDP strategy (e.g. when Broadbent refused to attend a CAW conference during the election campaign).

We have to also consider that the NDP had failed to capitalize on the great popular shifts that have occurred in the last two federal and the last Ontario election. Instead of benefitting from a rethinking of the Canadian electorate, especially its working-class component, the party was left out in the cold each time. The electorate did not perceive a significant difference between the NDP and the parties of big business. The 1988 federal election, moreover, occurred at a critical juncture in Canadian history -- a debate on the whole future direction of Canada. It should have been a time that the heightened interest of the population should have redounded to the NDP's advantage. And, if it did not occur then, when can we expect it to occur? The problem was that the NDP, like the Liberals, did not go beyond mere opposition to free trade. The NDP posed no significant alternative.

So why did we lose out? The problem is more profound than a single campaign. It is the outcome of a longterm process in which the party has been reshaped from its traditional CCF radicalism (antiwar and anticapitalist) to the safe, slick TV-oriented "Ed" campaign. The importance of the labor character of the party was removed from the campaign. And it must be remembered that when the CCF gave way to the formation of the NDP, it was to allow the labor movement to carry on its economic struggles with the owners of capital against their governments which used anti-labor legislation as a weapon in the class struggle. The NDP represents independent labor political action -- a significant historic achievement in North America.

One obvious problem is that the party base is pathetically small here in Ontario, insignificant in Quebec, and largely inactive. Of course, the conventional wisdom had it that this traditional pattern was due to the albatross of doctrinaire party policy. So, campaign by campaign, the party leadership eroded our policy and they installed loyal, narrow-of-vision electoral technocrats to centrally direct the campaigns. More and more the individual riding campaigns became irrelevant so that the party's message became the personalities of the leaders and their television clips.

In the early 80's, Broadbent unilaterally cancelled our anti-NATO policy during the course of the election but was uprbraided publicly by Pauline Jewett. So he attempted to eliminate the pesky problem by moving to dump the policy at conventions. Having failed to do that, he succeeded by manipulating the powers of the federal council and using his personal prestige to overcome the objections of traditional left critics within the parliamentary caucus. Unhampered by party policy, armed with a smooth-talking position paper on foreign policy which appealed to both liberals and socialists, he nonetheless found himself outflanked by the Tories, the Liberals, and the Big Business press, who denounced the party as both opportunist and unrealistic. Broadbent vitriolically denounced the party's position of "unilateral withdrawal" from NATO. In fact, he declared that unilateral withdrawal would be "idiotic". As he thus shuffled to the right, Liberal leader, John Turner, astutely took the opportunity to pin Broadbent to an anti-NATO policy (which had no underpinnings in the form of NDP explanations to the people). While Turner portrayed himself as a defender of Canadian sovereignty while simultaneously identifying with NATO/NORAD, Broadbent failed to use the opportunity to point out Turner's hypocrisy and thereby educate the Canadian people to our policy. This blunder allowed Turner to leftwardly associate himself with the anti-war aspirations of the Canadian people by arguing against the Tories' nuclear subs while still identifying with NATO/NORAD.

Outflanked on the Left by the Liberals

The Broadbent coterie had banked on the idea that the high-floating opinion polls would buoy up the party's fortunes if there were no gaffes in the policy area. Playing it safe was the name of the game. Don't discuss politics, avoid controversy, be statesman-like, keep our distance from the labor movement. Don't even discuss free trade, much less put forward an identifiable working class alternative. Be realistic and run for second place. Broadbent even publicly ruminated about coalitions with the other two parties. How credible could the NDP be when its leader was willing to consider a coalition with the Tories who were taking us into free trade? What distinctions could Canadians draw between the NDP and the big business parties? How could voters indicate on the ballot that they were voting for the NDP to be in second place? The electorate drew some logical conclusions: if you want to oppose free trade, vote Liberal since they have a chance and besides the NDP isn't all that different from them.

This strategy allowed Turner to shift left and squeeze the NDP vote, even cutting into the NDP's traditional base. In the vast void of economic policy, Mulroney carried himself as a visionary. He portrayed free trade as an historic opportunity for renewed prosperity, of course not to undermine programs to rectify social inequalities, but to provide a sound financial basis for doing so. He alone, of the three political leaders, provided a vision of Canada -- at once liberal and entrepreneurial. The NDP strategy was shattered irretrievably by the time of the leadership debates and then Broadbent reverted to some traditional populist rhetoric about the Liberals and Tories representing Bay Street. In the end, Turner appeared as the passionate denouncer of the Canadian "junior partners" of U.S. Big Business and sounded more and more like a winning left alternative.

It should be noted that the same lack of principle, burying the labor identity of the party, and running not for power but to share power were tried in the last two Ontario elections. Each time in ended in defeat. It even led to Bob Rae refusing to identify the party with socialism.

The process of degeneration of the party is profound. The class character of the NDP has been vitiated by the corruption of parliamentary office. High salaries and indexed pensions for the elected representatives have replaced the social vision of the CCF. The social movement has been subordinated to personal gain. Ends and means have become reversed. Parliament should be merely a means for realizing the social ends of the movement for a socialist Canada which serves the interests of the working people and those who suffer from inequality under the current system. Instead, parliamentary prestige has become the end in itself rationalized by the logic of so-called pragmatism.

This trend has reflected itself in the way prominent New Democrats have become assimilated into the status quo. Ian Deans decided to retire as an MP ostensibly because he couldn't bear to be a member in a Tory-dominated House; so he accepted a sinecure paying more than $90,000 per year as head of the Civil Service in a Tory-dominated government. Stephen Lewis became the Tory's ambassador to the UN and provided the government with a left cover. Nonetheless, he complied with the capitalist agenda when he voted against the Nuclear Freeze on behalf of the Canadian government. Ed Schreyer, the former NDP premier of Manitoba, became the Governor-General of Canada and became Her Majesty's representative of the state so that he could mouth Trudeau's speeches from the throne. Even the sainted Tommy Douglas was appointed as a director of Husky Corporation showing that the NDP was compatible with the labor movement and among other dissidents.

*continuing to put out the Newsletter with hard-hitting analysis and seeking to extend its base.

*establishing a correspondence team which will receive and initiate new connections inside the party. We should think of sending out speakers to out of metro Toronto areas.

*structuring committees to formulate resolutions and consult with other groups in the party, e.g. our Quebecois colleagues.

*broadening our representation in the steering committee and renewing an activist base.

The opportunities are before us. What is required is leadership. We must build that leadership.

Gord Doctorow
Feb. 24/89

1989

Lois Bedard, Co-Chair
Ontario NDP Left Caucus

Dear Lois:

The recent Ontario NDP Left Caucus Convention was an unqalified success. The list of speakers, which included prominent activists in the labour and socialist movements, was and is a testimony to the amount and quality of work done in the past by certain key activists in the Caucus.

Although a number of people made contributions to the Convention, your contribution was particularly outstanding. Your generous loans, the amount of time you put into the preparations and your leadership at the Convention itself were what made the Convention possible.

The membership of the FORWARD Group wish to extend their thanks to you for all your efforts on behalf of the Left Caucus. We are also looking forward to further fruitfull collaboration with you in the NDP. New elements have come into the Caucus and new challenges face us. The comrades of FORWARD are confident that, with you at the helm, the Left Caucus can successfully incorporate these new elements and tackle the challenges ahead.

Again, thank you.

yours for socialism

Bill Clinton, organizer/secretary

FORWARD

Minutes of Resolutions Sub-Committee of the Left Caucus

Minutes of Meeting held on: Thursday, April 6, 1989

NATO/NORAD

Harry's "draft resolution" to be circulated to Left Caucus Steering Committee members with minutes for discussion/clarification. Moved. Carried.

Accountability

A resolution on general accountability of leadership is needed. Moved.

Harry expressed disagreement, saying that mention of accountability can be incorporated in specific policy resolutions. He moves we consult other left elements (Robinson, Quebec comrades, etc.) before drafting such a general resolution. Moved. Carried.

From the Last Minutes: Warren Kazor mentioned that an assessment of general leadership accountability is expected at convention, and many key members are concerned.

Tritium production

Barb Mersereau (in progress)

Environmental Concerns

Concerns that resolutions must focus upon economics and the best interests of workers.

A resolution on work hazards is needed to unite the left and labour movement.

Stan Grey to be consulted to draft. (Mersereau & Kopyto to contact). Moved. Carried.

Quebec

Kopyto spoke to Morin; a key resolution needed is one on Quebec's right to determine its own language laws.

Another general resolution should affirm the Quebec nation's right to self-determination.

* Morin should be consulted before proceeding. Moved. Carried.

Aboriginal Rights

Moved that 1987 unadopted resolution by The Battlefords, NDP (L-2) be resubmitted (with possible alterations). Carried.

Labour

Labour Outreach Sub-Committee of the Steering Committee has not yet met to discuss other labour resolutions.

Educational policy resolutions

Elizabeth Davies will prepare a draft resolution on the effects of Free Trade upon education. Manfred Netzel will contact Davies.

Women

Harry had drafted a resolution concerning women and abortion rights with specific reference to the need for leadership and caucus accountability to the party's policy. To be circulated to Left Caucus Steeting Committee. Moved. Carried.

Next Sub-Committee meeting: 7:30 p.m. May 2, (Tuesday) at the home of Harry Kopyto. All Welcome.

Meeting adjourned at 9:45 p.m.

Minutes, ONDP Steering Committee   Wed: April 12

Present: Lois Bedard, Lois Stuart, Barb Mersereau, Gord Doctorow, Ester Bissoon Steve Sobol, Walter Stuart, Jim Anderson, Diane Meaghan

M/Walter, S/Diane That the all meetings be conducted according to Roberts Rules of Order. Carried.

Minutes of the March 6/89 meeting were read as notes to be entered as minutes in a subsequent meeting. M/Jim, S/Walter. Carried.

Business Arising:

- Harry mentioned the participation of Left Caucus people at the International Women's Day march.
- Copies of the Left Caucus newsletter were distributed at the Goodyear play written by Susan Moier.
- Several Left Caucus people attended the last Provincial Coucil meeting and also put up a literature display.

Correspondence

Harry announced an " Alternatives to Free Trade " forum to be held on May 3/89 at the Steelworkers hall. In consultation with Lois B Harry sent out a letter on behalf of the Left Caucus to the Metro Labour Council as part of our labour outreach program.

Letters to the Steering Committee read by Lois B.

Treasurer's Report

The treasurer's report was given by Lois B and indicated that we have received approximately $105 since the last meeting. Forthwith subscriptions will be reviewed and those who have not renewed with a financial contribution after being encouraged to do so will be dropped from the mailing list. A full treasurer's report will be given at the next meeting.

M/Harry,S/Barb That a correspondence committee be struck to maintain correspondence with leading figures in Canada on the left. Such actions were deemed desirable to assist us to organize prior to conventions with key labour figures and people who are long-standing socialists. Carried.

M/Harry,S/Jim to call for volunteers for the committee. Carried.

Lois B and Gord volunteered for the committee. A Discussion led by Lois S. ensued in which she suggested that the steering committee ought to assist the committee in this task when called upon.

Harry announced that the next Resoulution Committee meeting will take place on May 3. Two meetings of that committee have taken place to date. Lois B was given three resolutions from the committee's work to circulate at the women's conference to seek endorsation from the Women's Committee and the POW rep. These resolutions concern the issues of abortion, Meech Lake and reproductory rights.

Gord suggested that the next left caucus forum ought to take up much of the material presented by Bob White in his position paper. He suggested that we attempt to get Bob to speak; Lois B. suggested we should also approach Grace Hartmann, labor spokespeople and a Left Caucus person for the event. M/Lois S., S/Lois B. that we hold such a forum on May 25 and that the details be referred to the Labour Outreach Committee

Newsletter

A discussion ensued concerning the editor of the newsletter. Diane suggested that the current editorial committee ought to be expanded. Ester stated that the position in past was an elected position at the AGM; currently the editors are a carry over from the past executive. Lois B. suggested that we have a lot of work to do currently and we should keep the present structure and elected new editors at the next AGM. There was discussion concerning how to expand the feminist input to the newsletter that was adopted by the previous executive. Diane reminded the committee that we had passed a motion that stated that each newsletter would have an article concerning issues of gender and race. Lois B. suggested that it was not necessary that each newsletter contain such articles. M/Ester, S/Walter that the next issue contain an article on sexual harassment and that Lois S. be asked to write the article. Ester mentioned that her article had been rejected on this topic because it was too long although she adhered to the 2000 word maximum that Gord had mentioned to her as editor. Gord stated that her article was too long and not on topic. Ester volunteered to circulate her article to the Steering Committee so they might judge its appropriateness. Lois B. stated that if we have pre-set notions concerning what is to be in the newsletter this will move us into a debating society. Diane suggested that this difficult will arise again and therefore we ought to have a full discussion concerning the nature of the newsletter, its content, editorship etc. Harry suggested that its a good thing that people are interested in helping with the production of the newsletter and everyone ought to be writing articles for it. Diane suggested that the editoral committee ought to have gender parity as all other structural aspects of the Left Caucus has agreed to. M/Diane, S/Lois S that the editorship, as currently construed, be expanded to include a third person and that Ester be that person. Walter wondered what the objection is to having two or three feminist articles in a socialist newsletter and if that would be so earth shattering. Gord said that he has difficulty in working with Ester and has in past reached an impasse on this matter.Ester stated that she had worked effectively with

Gord as his campaign manager and observed that the difficulties in the working relationships began when she began to work toward including more feminism in the agenda of the Left Caucus. Gord stated that he was not convinced that he could work with Ester. Lois S. suggested that conflict is healthy and ought to be able to be overcome if the three people in question were prepared to make the effort. Diane stated that Gord and Harry must demonstrate that they can work with Ester in the same way that Gord was insisting that Ester demonstrate that she could work with them. Carried.

Gord, as Chair, called for the vote again stating he wasn't sure how Barb had voted and the vote was not carried the second time. Harry spoke to why he changed his vote stating that he had worked well with Ester in past but as a result of this meeting did not feel he could do so in the future. Harry mentioned that Ester's article was four times the length it should have been. Ester responded that she wrote the number of words instructed to write and the original criticisms said nothing about length; that criticism was added later. Lois B. reminded us of our time limits and said that Ester was once again disrupting the meeting. Ester said she was most upset concerning the personal attacks that take place in such meetings, such as the attack by Lois B. when she was called unreliable, when she attempts to raise legitimate political issues. Ester stated that from her point of view voting her down was a further attack on her ability to function on the committee. Lois S. stated that it is imperative that people do not attend Left Caucus meetings with preconceived ideas and hidden agendas . Diane asked Gord to bring the meeting under control and Gord said he was in a state of shock and not able to do so. As chair Gord indicated that he would vote in favor of Ester as one of the editors with the hope of resolving some of the tension.

M/Walter, S/Jim Adjournment, Carried.

Next meeting, May 15, 8:00 p.m. , Toronto Board of Education.

Minutes, ONDP Steering Committee April 15, 1989.

Present: Lois Stuart, Lois Bedard, Steve Sobel, Manfred Netzel, Walter Stuart, Ester Bissoon, Jim Anderson, Gord Doctorow, Diane Meaghan, Lois Mei, Harry Kopoyto, Joe Steinbok (observer).

M/Ester, Sec./Steve Minutes to be adopted as read from the March 6th. meeting.

M/Manfred, Sec./Lois B. that the minutes are to be circulated prior to the Committee meeting. Carried. 1.

M/Manfred, Sec./Jim that a subcommittee be struck to make recommendations for membership fees taking into account our expenses for the newsletter and the forums. Volunteers for the committee were Manfred, Walter and Joe. Carried.

M/Harry, Sec./Steve that the labour subcommittee examine the possibility of preparing a forum. Carried.

M/Diane, Sec./Ester that the steering committee as a whole be charged with the responsibility of serving as the editorial committee. There was a general discussion concerning the workings of the editorial committee as it was now constituted.

M/Lois B., Sec./Jim that the foregoing motion be tabled until the next meeting to appear on the agenda after the reading of the minutes.

1. Lois B. suggested that future recordings of minutes should report the motions with a statement or two to clarify the motions.

Meeting began 8:30 p.m. Ended at 10.30 p.m.

Next meeting is June 22, 8:00 p.m., The Toronto Board of Education, location confirmed.

Found in 1989?

Dear Lois
One can see that
a man wrote
these please see my
comments
Marguerite

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS violence against women has become an urgent issue which is not adequately dealt with by the judicial and educational system,

1. THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT the NDP Government train police to deal adequately with assault against women, including developing a Witness Assistance program to prepare women to testify in criminal cases of sexual assault and to insure that women are promptly advised of incidents of violence in their communities;

2. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT means be developed to monitor judges with respect to decisions in criminal cases involving violence to women and that a mechanism be established to intervene in appropriate instances; no. that is repairing things once they have been badly dealt with! There needs to be instruction for judges

3. BE FURTHER BE RESOLVED THAT an NDP Government support women's shelters and takes steps to ensure that they are properly financed, equipped to deal with emergency cases and are staffed by adequately trained personnel;

4. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the Ontario NDP Government propound an educational program which will provide professional expertise to assist men ~~with a history of~~ ~~in working~~ in studying the issue violence against women, to participate in group therapy from a feminist and not-sexist perspective;

5. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the NDP Government ensure that the study of violence against women be made a mandatory part of sex education classes and that ~~both male and~~ female students be provided with training and self-defence in physical education programs;

6. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT teacher training schools include the issue of violence against women in their curriculum.

Not only men with a history of violence should get help. Again, that is a band-aid policy: there needs to be preventative work!

RE: Women/Abortion

WHEREAS THE conservative government has declared its intention to introduce legislation through an amendment to the Criminal Code on the legality of abortions in Canada;

and whereas such legislation would tend to criminalize women seeking access to abortion under certain cirucmstances;

AND WHEREAS the right of a woman to control her body is a fundamental right which our party recognizes and supports wholeheartedly;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the New Democratic Party affirms its opposition to all efforts to criminalize women seeking access to abortion;

2. That the members of the federal caucus be instructed to vote against all legislative initiatives seeking to use the criminal code as a sanction against women seeking access to abortions, as a means of reaffirming the existing party policy (1983).

glob0512 May 6/89

8

EQUALIZER FOR THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE?

Here is a surefire recommendation to President Bush to rid himself of his puppet off-the-string Noriega. Simply open up the armories of the U.S. bases in Panama to the popular opposition! They will I'm sure be quite capable to protect themselves against Noriega's un-uniformed goon squads -- given only one tenth of the hardware Washington lavished on the Panamanian military in sunnier days.

Nor would this pose a political problem or constitute further intervention.

Does not the American constitution itself guarantee the right of free citizens to take up arms to rid themselves of an illegitimate imposter regime. The election results have clearly been suppressed only because Noriega's man has lost. And ultimately it is only by virtue of U.S. supplied arms that this terror regime is able to cling to power in the first place.

Is it not therefore the democratic thing to do - to provide an "equalizer" , that is straight from the open doors of the U.S. armories to the popular forces? That is the only language that Noriega's henchmen understand, and infact they understand it so well - I would venture to guess - that they would turn coats in the vast majority of cases without any extensive bloodshed.

Problem is, that Washington is more afraid of an armed and liberated Panamanian populace than of yet another black eye for Bush. So tinder dry for the flames of revolutionary upheavals has Latin America become that even safe Panama and Venezuela - witness the events in Caracas only weeks ago - are no longer secure except under the iron heel of the military - whether in step or out of step with Washington's strategic mentors.

Bushes clarion call to be on the side of democracy and freedom in Central America has a hollow ring yet again.

Hans Modlich

Etobicoke

Lois

LEFT CAUCUS AGENDA FOR MAY 15/89

1. Attendance report.
2. Minutes and correspondence -- Diane and Lois B.
TABLED
3. Report on finances -- Manfred. $567.71
4. Report on forum -- Harry.
5. Report on newsletter -- Gord, Harry, Esther.
Newsletter editorship, Articles.
6. Discussion on future direction for Left Caucus.
7. New Business. - 9 Committee Resolutions
8 Next meeting & location

Mintutes of the ONDP
LEFT CAUCUS

May 15,1989, 8:00 p.m.
Toronto Board of Education

Present: Lois Beddard, Lois Stuart, Esther Bissoon, Walter Stuart, Manfred Netzel, Steve Sobel, Diane Meaghan, Harry Kopyto, Jim Anderson, Anna Christakas (guest)

The agenda was approved as presented.

Newsletter M/ Diane S/Manfred that the minutes of the last meeting be approved as amended. (Lois B. wished the correction to be made that she had moved, not suggested, that the motions of meetings only be recorded in the minutes.)

A general discussion ensued concerning the advisability of turning the Steering Committee as a whole into the editorial committee. (This item had been tabelled from the previous meeting to appear at this point on the agenda.) Carried Unanimously

It was generally decided that steering committee members would come to the July meeting with some suggested topics (and perhaps some writings) for the upcoming newsletter.

M/Harry S/Steve that the editorial committee receive and publish an article by Angie Codina on the situation in China for the next newsletter.

Other possible suggestions for the newsletter would include articles on What is Socialism? and Why the Left Caucus in the NDP?

Financial Report

The treasurer reported that we have a bank balance of $565, as well as donations of $189 and expenses of $135, leaving us with a balance, at present of $625.

M/Manfred S/Jim that the finanacial report be received. Carried.

M/Walter S/Harry that we establish a fund raising committee to investigate the possiblity of holding a BBQ or a cruise or the traditional annual Left Caucus summer party. Since one half to one third of the mailings of the newsletter are out of province it was suggested that these mailings would have to financially carry themselves or be limited in the future.

M/Steve S/Diane that the meeting be adjourned at 10:p.m.

The next meeting will be confirmed by telephone for July.

Join us for a lunchtime discussion:

- **For an open forum to discuss the direction of the NDP**
- **How to bring the government back to its roots in the labour and social movements**
- **How to realign the government's actions with the Party's policies**

WHERE: ST. GEORGE EAST/WEST
ROOM 3RD FLOOR, HOLIDAY INN

WHEN: SATURDAY LUNCHTIME RECESS
DURING PROVINCIAL COUNCIL
(ANTICIPATED TIME 12:00)

Initiated by the Left Caucus of the ONDP

Found in 1989

FOR A SOCIALIST CANADA

A Left Caucus is needed to renew the New Democratic Party on the basis of democratic, socialist, and feminist policies, including:

No Recriminalization of Abortion

The Party must stand for unrestricted reproductive choice for women, including full and equal access to abortion services. Caucus discipline must be maintained against new criminal legislation.

Withdraw from NATO and NORAD

To become a real party for peace requires an unequivocal policy of withdrawal from military alliances. An independent foreign policy must be based on unilateral disarmament and an end to complicity with imperialist intervention in Central America and around the world.

For a Truly Democratic Party with an Accountable Leadership

Federal Caucus must be accountable to Convention policy decisions. The leadership should educate the members in Party policy, and Federal Executive should launch a national Party newspaper to this end.

Defend Quebec's Right to Self-Determination

Build a genuinely federal party through a commitment to Quebec's national rights, including defense of the French language and culture in Quebec. Support their right to create institutions of self-government and control of their own political and economic destinies.

For a Feminist NDP

The NDP should be active in struggles for pay equity, universal quality childcare, affirmative action and against sexual harassment. Structures must be put in place to achieve gender parity in Caucus and in leadership bodies.

Expand Public Ownership; Stop Privatization; Fight Unemployment

Support extra-parliamentary coalitions with unions and women's organization against the privatization of basic public services like Canada Post and VIA Rail. Expand the public sector and legislate the shorter work week, to create secure jobs and reverse the trend under the Free Trade Agreement towards cheap unorganized part-time labour.

Strengthen Ties With Labour

Founded as the political expression of the union movement, the NDP must build new links with organized workers, based on progressive policies and increased regular consultation. Fight for improved collective bargaining rights to assist in organizing the unorganized.

Protect the Environment

Socialist planning of economic development under workers' and community control, is the only way to combat corporate and government profit-driven environmental destruction.

For a Strong Independent Youth Section

A democratic, independent, active and fully-subsidized Youth is the only way to involve and educate new layers of young people.

Fight Racism; Defend Aboriginal Rights

The Party must lead a campaign against racist violence and prejudice against immigrants and visible minorities. Defense of aboriginal rights must include genuine self-government based on a swift settlement of all outstanding land claims.

Gay and Lesbian Rights

Human rights protection is only a beginning in the struggle against discrimination. The Party should speak out against sexual stereotyping, attacks on gays, and for custody rights for lesbian mothers and gay men.

End Poverty and Homelessness Through Social and Economic Planning

A massive housing program, financed by the government through corporate taxation, a profits tax on housing and land speculation, and land expropriation, is needed to combat growing homelessness. Fight poverty through defense and expansion of social programs, income protection programs, and job creation through public enterprise.

The Party must become an activist movement, involved in struggles for these issues during and in between election campaigns, in Parliament and in the streets. We believe these issues will be key for the Party's future in the 1990s.

Attend Left Caucus meetings
Meetings will be announced and posted.

Joint Statement
by the
ALBERTA LEFT CAUCUS
and
ONTARIO LEFT CAUCUS

Printed on unbleached, recycled paper

Enclosed please find three resolutions endorsed by the Left Caucus Committee which we would urged you to have passed at your own Federal Riding Association. Some of these resolutions have already been endorsed by Federal Riding recently; for example, the resolution on abortion has been endorsed by the St. Paul's Riding. Please ensure that the Resolutions are dealt with in accordance with the instructions from the Federal Council regarding the submission of Federal Resolutions. The cut off date is September 29, 1989 for handing in these resolutions. We would appreciate being advised which ridings have endorsed these resolutions and any additional resolutions which you feel Left Caucus supporters will submit to their own riding.

RE: Women/Abortion

WHEREAS THE Conservative government has declared its intention to introduce legislation through an amendment to the Criminal Code on the legality of abortions in Canada;

AND WHEREAS such legislation would tend to criminalize women seeking access to abortion under certain cirucmstances;

AND WHEREAS the right of a woman to control her body is a fundamental right which our party recognizes and supports wholeheartedly;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the New Democratic Party affirms its opposition to all efforts to criminalize women seeking access to abortion;

2. That the members of the federal caucus be instructed to vote against all legislative initiatives seeking to use the criminal code as a sanction against women seeking access to abortions, as a means of reaffirming the existing party policy (1983).

RE: NATO/NORAD

WHEREAS THE principles of membership control of party policy and leadership accountability for promoting such policy are fundamental cornerstones of our party's democratic heritage;

AND WHEREAS these principles distinguish us fundamentally from our political opposition and are needed to ensure the broadest participation by the rank and file of our party in the formulation of our policies;

AND WHEREAS our party has historically opposed the arms drive and membership in such military alliances as NATO and NORAD, affirming such positions in various conventions since 1969;

AND WHEREAS the Federal Council at its 1988 spring meeting in Ottawa reversed these positions without cause or justification by postponing withdrawal from NATO to an indefinite date in the future and supporting a replacement alliance for NORAD;

AND WHEREAS this usurpation of the functions of the membership undermined our party's credibility during the 1988 election campaign in the anti-war movement and contributed significantly to the perception of our party as lacking firmness and principle;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED :

1. That this convention reverses the decision of the 1988 Spring federal council meeting which called for postponing withdrawal from NATO, replacing NORAD with another military alliance by clearly stating that an NDP government would refuse to participate in the militarys council of NATO and NORAD and that such a Government would move to immediately and unconditionally withdraw from NATO and NORAD and would refuse to negotiate any replacement military alliances with the United States.

2. That this convention affirms the NDP's policies in favour of immediate withdrawal from all military alliances and opposition to budget increases from military expenditures;

3. That this convention specifically directs the federal caucus and the new leader to promote and defend these policies.

WHEREAS Quebec is unique within Canada because the majority of the people share the French language and culture and a long common history -- characteristics that determine a distinct nation;

AND WHEREAS the history of the people of Quebec has been characterized by ongoing struggles to preserve their unique language and culture notwithstanding social, economic and cultural pressures tending to undermine the preservation of these traditions;

AND WHEREAS it is a fundamental right of all nations to determine their own future and to shape their own destinies in the economic, social, cultural and linguistic spheres against all forms of national and social oppression;

AND WHEREAS the culture and language of the majority of the people of Quebec continues to be threatened by a decline in birth rate, constitutional amendments that would make it more difficult to protect the French language and culture and the national interest of Quebec and financial pressures which exert a powerful force tending to encourage the assimilation of the Quebec people and the destruction of their uniqueness;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT:
The New Democratic Party affirms the status of the majority of the people of Quebec as a nation with a full right to determine its own future up to and including creating its own institutions of government and state;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT:
The New Democratic Party and the federal caucus be specifically mandated to recognize Quebec's exclusive right to legislate with respect to minority language rights.

THE GLENDON NEW DEMOCRAT
LA NEO-DEMOCRATE DE GLENDON
September, 1989 Vol.1 No.1

O.S.A.P. - Keeping Ontario's universities restricted

DESPITE the provincial Liberal government's claim, this year college and university education is as inaccessible as it has ever been under the Tories. Universities remain, for the most part, reserves for the children of the middle and upper classes while wage-earners end-up subsidizing the education to which they have only limited access. The Ontario Student Assistance Programme (OSAP), supposedly designed to improve the prospects for students of modest means, has failed to change the social make-up in the universities and colleges.

According to the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS), OSAP has been unable, or unwilling, to keep up with the realities of the rising cost of living. In 1978-79 OSAP assumed a living allowance of $65 per week. Ten years later this figure stands at $111 1988-89, an increase of 71%; however, over the same period, inflation in Ontario has gone up 95-98%.[1] This is aggravated by the fact that students, like other low income groups, pay a larger proportion of their incomes on housing which has increased 100-243% faster than other items in the consumer price index.[2] The OFS estimates that a more realistic figure for students living away from home to be over $200 - 86% higher than what OSAP offers. In the last provincial budget the government agreed to increase the allowance for child care from $73 to $76 per week, although in Toronto these costs range from $125 to $180.[3]

UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS
- UNREALISTIC AID

OSAP's assumptions of parental contributions are another major deterrence to working families who may not be able to afford that kind of financial strain. For example, in 1988 a 2 parent family making $32,000 with two kids, one of whom is going to University was expected to contribute $3,136 - a definite deterrence. This is especially true where the family still has a mortgage to pay off. In these cases, OSAP presumes that the parents are unwilling to subsidize their child, thereby making them ineligible for OSAP loans and/or the Ontario Study Grant Plan.

Since the revisions introduced in 1978, under Davis's Conservative government, students who have been out on their own and have been working for less than three years are still tied to parental income. This demands that young people to go back to their families to convince them to reduce their living standards, sometimes to near-poverty levels. This is particularly hard on low income families where students are not as likely to go straight to university or college from high school.

OSAP allows students only four years of post-secondary education

OSAP - page 2

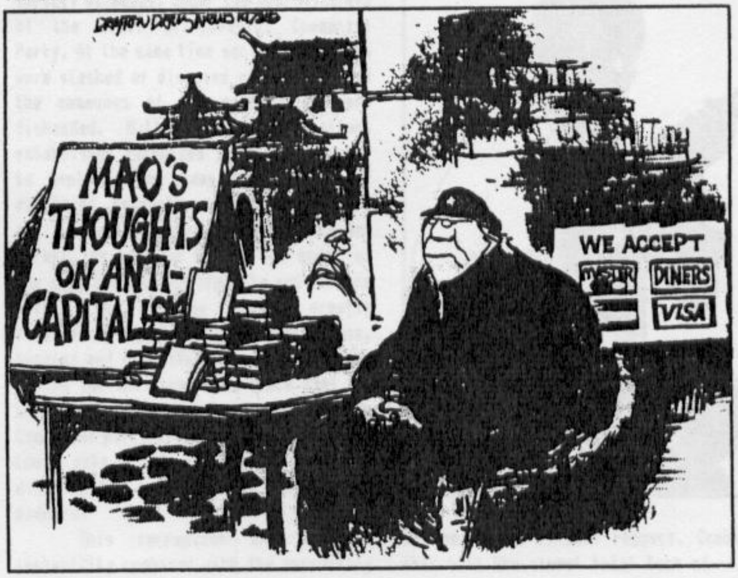
IN THIS ISSUE:

Reproductive choice - How it affects students..........p.3

Aidons les ouveriers des brasseries/ Brewery workers are looking for our help........p.4

Beyond the Beijing massacre

By Michael Laxer



Most Canadians are aware of the defiance and protest followed by the brutal repression that gripped the People's Republic of China this past summer. As is true with most events of any great significance, it exploded rapidly onto the news and then faded away just as quickly as new events and issues captured the collective attention; leaving an odd impression of the student uprising as an occurrence with no definite origins and an all too definite end. But the causes and consequences remain an ongoing concern in China. The student and worker upheaval emerged out of a landscape drawn slowly since the fall of the Maoist Gang of Four in 1977. A landscape not as simple, perhaps, as our media would have us believe.

It should be obvious to any informed observer that the China of hard-line leader, Deng Xiaoping, is very different from the China of Mao, despite the simplistic comparisons drawn of late. While the methods of repression remain the same, the causes of the repression differ greatly. Mao's war was a war against a faction within the Communist Party which wanted to steer China along the Soviet developmental path as opposed to the path of independent utopian peasant 'communism' that Mao envisioned. Today's war is a war by an entrenched and corrupt bureaucratic *nouveau riche* elite against a suffering people.

In the late seventies and throughout the eighties, China's ruling clique have chosen to open up the Chinese economy to private enterprise and foreign investment. A bizarre array of capitalists and commissars emerged who slowly building up empires and profits

Workers - page 2

COMPLACENCY IS COMPLICITY / L'INACTIVITE, C'EST LA COMPLICITE

OSAP fails to meet students' realities

- from page 1

during which they are eligible to collect grants, regardless of whether or not they were previously eligible for the grant programme. This was initially designed to exclude students in graduate and professional courses, thereby putting these professions out of reach for working class scholars. This four year cut-off ordinarily takes its toll on students who transfer between colleges and universities, or change disciplines. Women going back to work who were streamed into secretarial schools in their earlier years and must re-qualify are especially effected by this change. The last provincial budget put in a paltry $200,000 for students who have run out of eligibility for grant assistance, but there is only enough to go to the most destitute. Furthermore, the provincial government has also put a $7,200 ceiling on the amount of money a student can borrow from the Ontario Student Loans Plan. (OSLP) and while Ottawa has no ceiling at present for its Canada Student Loans Plan (CSLP), Mulroney's government is considering the possibility of applying one in the near future.

AVERAGE DEBT LOAD AT $12,000

When students graduate they can look forward to an average debt of $12,000 with average payments of $3,500 per year with only six months free of interest, although debts of $20,000 are not uncommon. This turns out to be a good deal for private banks since they make a healthy profit by collecting 1% over the prime rate with the Ontario taxpayers picking up the interest charges until they are handed over to the student after graduation. In the event that a graduated student has problems paying back his/her loan he/she must plead with his/her bank manager for clemency and if the bank manager is not satisfied he/she may decide to call the loan due and payable or in default, in which case the bank can garnish the debtor's wages.

EDUCATION AS A RIGHT - NOT A PRIVILEGE

In order for OSAP to be effective it needs a complete overhaul. Its assumptions are out of touch with the reality that is faced by working class students and their families. The application forms are insulting, intrusive and intimidating - as anyone who has filled one out is quite aware. Also the appeal procedure is extremely limited and therefore remains a bad joke.

We, in the NDP, see post-secondary education as a right, not a privilege and believe that if universities and colleges are to be open to anyone, regardless of class and income, then obstacles that deter working people from post-secondary education must be cleared away immediately. These include OSAP's irrational expectations from parents and its insufficient assistance. Furthermore, the prospect of graduating with thousands, or tens of thousands, of dollars in debt is unacceptable.

Therefore we call on Queen's Park to abolish the loan programmes and replace them with an extended grant plan. Secondly, tuition fees should be eliminated so that wealth isn't a prerequisite for admission. These costs should be carried by a progressive income tax where individuals, who can truthfully afford to, will pay their fair share along with big business which is the decisive benefactor of our education.

---

1. All figures are supplied by the OFS's report *Students working together for change*, January 1989, unless otherwise indicated.
2. *The Toronto Star*, Sept.16, 1988.
3. *Analysis of Ontario 1989 Budget*; Brock University Students' Union. May, 1989.
4. *Pro Tem*, Sept.4, 1989.

THE GLENDON NEW DEMOCRAT / LA NEO-DEMOCRATE DE GLENDON

La Néo-Démocrate est le journal des Néo-Démocrates du Collège Glendon. Il est publié trois fois par année. Tous les textes signées réfléchent les opinions de l'auteur.

The Glendon New Democrat is the journal of the Glendon New Democrats and is published three times a year. All signed articles reflect the views of the writer.

Send correspondence to /
envoyez correspondence à:

The Glendon New Democrats / Les Néo-démocrates du Collège Glendon
c/o GCSU/AECG
Collège Glendon College
2275 avenue Bayview Ave.
TORONTO, ONT.
M4N 3M6

Workers pay for prosperity

- from page 1

variety of means, under the approving eye of the still all-powerful Communist Party. At the same time social programmes were slashed or disposed of entirely and the communes of the countryside were disbanded. Multinational corporations established factories in China in order to exploit the cheap labour pool of displaced peasants and to cater more easily to the vast and hitherto untapped market. As profits became the order of the day, the role of students and workers within the society became greatly devalued. Unemployment, homelessness, begging and prostitution appeared in the cities for the first time since 1949. So too did widespread corruption as Communist party officials found that they could make a lot of money by unfairly distributing privileges to the highest bidders.

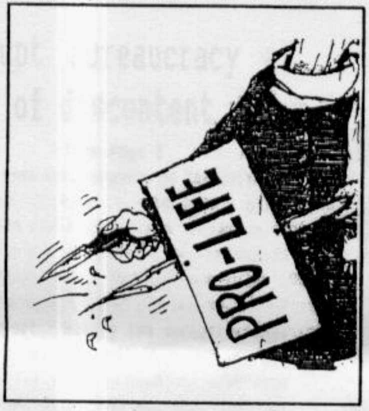
This corruption and economic instability combined with the increasing alienation of students and workers who had previously been exalted figures in China, but now found themselves taking a back seat in Chinese society to the new entrepreneurial class, led to increasing discontent. Students, whose studies before had guaranteed them economic stability and respect, and workers, who had been held up as heros and the forgers of China's economic future, now held the lowest rung on the Chinese economic and social ladder. Their positions no longer engendered a decent living standard but left them open to the possibility of joblessness and homelessness. No amount of consumer goods could make up for this or their loss of self respect. Combine this with the almost total lack of democratic freedoms which might have made the situation at least tolerable or to improvement and you have an almost classic example of the conditions which result in revolutionary discontent. To put it in the terms used by the Independent Workers' Union, which sprang up at the time of the protest and was virtually ignored in the West, this new student-worker underclass has "nothing to lose but their chains". It seems that the government's actions may have been aimed at crushing the possible formation of a Chinese Solidarnosc movement. Despite the readiness of our media 'watch dogs' to

Corrupt - page 4

CHOICE: A STUDENT ISSUE

(Originally produced by the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics and the Ontario Federation Of Students.)

In January 1988, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down the 1969 abortion law as unconstitutional, and interfering with a woman's right to 'security of the person'. However since that decision, women's right to abortion has been anything but secured. The Federal government attempted on the summer of 1988 to introduce criminal legislation on abortion. When they failed to do so, groups from the anti-choice minority, such as Campaign Life, took vigilante action against women at a number of abortion clinics across the country, blockading the doors of the clinics, verbally and physically assaulting patients as they attempted to enter.



In July and August, injunctions were obtained against individual women, Barbara Dodd and Chantal Daigle, preventing them from terminating their pregnancy - ignoring both the Charter of Rights and the Morgentaler decision which made access to abortion a woman's right. Chantal Daigle had to take her case to the supreme court to have the injunction lifted.

The Federal government has declared it will introduce new legislation this fall, in an attempt to impose new restrictions on this medical procedure. How does this affect students?

1) The issue of choice is key to the fight for women's equality in society, a fight which encompasses the right to education, to employment equity and to equality in participation in all aspects of life. Therefore, students are directly affected by any restriction to access to abortion, which will only add to the extra hardships facing women seeking to obtain a university or college education.

2) Without universal daycare, equal wages, access to abortion, and adequate student assistance, women do not have the same chances of obtaining a post-secondary education as men. Re-criminalizing abortion will not solve the problems of lack of access to safe abortion in all parts of Canada, including rural areas, where women already have great difficulty obtaining abortions. The right to full access to free abortion is one aspect of women's struggle for real choices in their lives.

3)Restrictions imposed on abortion always hit low and middle income women most severely than wealthy women, because women having the financial means have always been able to obtain abortions, either through sympathetic doctors or by travelling to another country. Women already suffer from great disadvantages financially, the least of which is the fact that they make only 60% of the average wages earned by men. Students are already being hit hard by increasing tuition fees and rising living costs, and any restrictions on access to abortion will hit students especially hard.

Since the Supreme Court decision last January, the Pro-Choice movement has been building a campaign around No New Abortion Law, calling for full access to free abortion and full funding for abortion clinics. It is vital that students participate in this campaign. Last April students from over 500 campuses across the United States sent busses to the March on Washington to keep abortion legal. It is time students made themselves heard across Canada.

Don't lose the right to choose!

A public disservice

Two years ago, the Tories announced that the they would have to privatize Canada Post because it is a money loser. After a series of cut-backs in services, at the expense of the public, the crown corporation managed to come out in the black for the first time. Now we learn that the government is studying the feasibility of selling it off, since it is *making* money. A discrepancy in logic?

Not really.

Parties of big business work for big business and will ensure that it is well-fed. Unprofitable, but necessary services such as Canada Post and Via rail remain under government control, but are made deficient by a government that is hostile by its nature unprofitable public service institutions. This is used to foster the Tories' own argument that the civil service inherently is inept and that a public service which bears no profits is somehow undesirable.

There's more to the post office's operating costs than the value on a postage stamp: A letter to Yellowknife, for example, costs almost $100 to the post office. A privatized business does not subsidize itself, its costs are taken up entirely by its customers.

No one should be surprised by the flip-flop by the this government: the capitalist system is built upon such contradictions.

THE GLENDON NEW DEMOCRATS

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY was born in 1961, the result of an alliance formed between the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the Canadian Labour Congress. Since that time, the NDP has been the main vehicle of the socialist tradition in Canada. As a social democratic party, the NDP is dedicated to democratic electoral principles and parliamentary government.

But what exactly is the aim of a social democratic party? According to the late David Lewis, its aim is "to enrich the life and free the creative spirits of those who have only their labour, skills, and talents to contribute to society and without whom little could be produced to meet human needs, even in this age of technological wizardry." Hence, the party tries to ensure that every person - regardless of occupation, sex, colour or creed will have the full opportunity to share in the country's progress. In its struggle to attain this goal, the NDP, along with the labour movement, was instrumental in the fights for the extension of democratic rights and minimum standards in the workplace, public pensions, unemployment insurance, co-op housing, medicare and equal pay.

Unfortunately, Canada is still a society based on class antagonisms and the progressive gains made over the years have come under increasing attack with the rise of neo-conservatism. According to this elitist ideology, the labour movement has become too powerful, the working-people too complacent. Hence, the Conservatives and the Liberals continue to align themselves with the multinational corporate monopolies, empires which consider themselves to be a law unto themselves, free to roam the globe in search of cheap labour, more exploitable resources and greater profits regardless of the consequences. Hence, the need for a strong social-democratic movement based on the labour movement has never been greater.

The Glendon New Democrats are dedicated to the struggle against neo-conservatism. As a socially aware collectivity, we aim to eradicate the class basis of Canadian society and the sexism, racism and bigotry which such a basis breeds.

PLEASE JOIN US IN OUR STRUGGLE.

Le mauvais goût de Molson / Carling O'Keefe

A cause de la fusion entre les brasseries Molson et Carling O'Keefe, datée le 18 Janvier, ces compagnies se sont décidé à fermer 7 de leurs 16 brasseries. Des milles de leurs ouvriers perdront leurs emplois. Un des brasseries fermées est à Toronto, et cela va près d'un millier d'ouvriers redondants.

Des essaies faits par le syndicat pour discuter l'avenir de leurs membres ont été rejetés par la grand compagnie, qui veut remplacer leurs anciens ouvriers avec des laboures causales.

Des gens désoeuvrés dépendent sur leurs emplois pour qu'ils maintiennent un niveau de vie suffisant pour leurs familles. Mais, selon Molson - Carling O'Keefe, ils sont des menaces aux bénéfices substantiels. L'année passée, Carling O'Keefe a gagné 77$ millions, et Molson a gagné plus. Malgré, cette statistique, les administrations veulent extorquer plus des bénéfices aux mêmes ouvriers qui ont produit les bénéfices tout d'abord.

Les ouvriers des brasseries demandent votre aide pour presser Molson et Carling O'Keefe par boycotter leurs produits. On vend des bières de Molson et Carling O'Keefe au café de la terrasse, mais il y a des autres choixes comme Upper Canada et Labatt.

S'IL VOUS PLAÎT, N'ACHETEZ NI LES BIERES DE MOLSON NI CARLING O'KEEFE!

Corrupt bureaucracy at root of discontent

-from page 2

blame these developments on "socialism", these are, ironically, almost the exact conditions which led to the formation of the socialist movement in the Europe of the 19th century: a lack of democracy, a lack of economic security and a lack of self respect - hardly the socialism that Karl Marx had in mind! This, of course, is not to say that the students advocated an advanced socialist ideology, but the rebellion was one directed against a Chinese ruling class which has the power to exploit labour in a way that the capitalists in the West only dream of. It is no wonder the students sang the *Internationale* and carried red banners and flags.

What has surprised many here in the "free world" even more than the slaughter in China has been the lack of reaction by our leaders. It must not be forgotten that the Western press, up until the massacre in Tiananmen Square, praised the free-market China of Deng Xiaoping. When, after the carnage, Henry Kissinger said that the U.S. should not criticize the Chinese government's actions because the Chinese government was America's friend, he exhibited a key element of corporate America's philosophy. China is possibly the most potentially lucrative friend to U.S. business in Asia, a friend far too profitable to forsake, which explains the less than harsh measures taken not only by the U.S., but also by Canada to show disapproval with the massacre. We cannot expect our capitalists or pro-business governments to terminate economically healthy relationships by reason of morality. As one Montreal business leader put it, the slogan of Canadian business will remain "business as usual." If Western capital can stomach the blood-stained money made in countries like South Korea or Chile they can easily stomach those made in this brutal dictatorship.

Those on the left who supported the Maoist cultural revolution placed their hopes on an illusion of socialism. But those on both the left and the right who view this summer's massacre by the Chinese ruling class as a defense of socialism are giving in to a much greater misconception fostered by the Western press. The fight for a socialist democracy in China continues, but the soldiers of the real People's Liberation Army were those who were defeated in Tiananmen Square. But the last chapter of this fight for freedom, democracy and equality is not yet written. It is a fight with which workers and students around the world should feel deep solidarity.

Waiting for the great leap forward

ACTIVATE!

If you are interested in becoming a member of the Glendon New Democrats, why not get in touch with us? We need your help at the book table, on these newsletters and at our educationals. Student political activism is more than just a tradition, its an education in itself.

MOLSON'S
CARLINGS

Brewery workers call for Molson's / Carling boycott

By Jeff Smith

As a result of their January 18th merger, Molson's and Carling O'Keefe have decided to close 7 of their 16 plants, thus throwing thousands of their employees out of work. Among the plants hit will be one in Toronto, making almost 1,000 employees redundant. Even though there will be plenty of jobs open in their remaining two plants, they have no intention of rehiring these workers.

Attempts made by the Brewery, Malt and Soft Drink Workers' Union since the merger to discuss the future of their members have been rejected by the company, which insists on replacing their long-standing and full-time employees with low paid, casual labour. These people depend on their jobs to maintain adequate standards of living for themselves and their families, however, Molson's and Carling O'Keefe see them as merely an inconvenience to their already substantial profits. Last year Carling O'Keefe made $77 million, while Molson's made even more. Yet management insists on squeezing out still more at the expense of the same workers who made the profits possible in the first place!

The brewery workers are asking for our help to put pressure on Molson's and Carling by boycotting their products until they are willing to offer a fair and reasonable settlement. The Glendon pub offers other good beers, why not try them?

Molson / Carling products include:

Molson Export
Molson Canadian
Canadian Light
Coors Light
Molson Light
Foster's
O'Keefe Ale
Miller High Life
Molson Stock Ale
Extra Old Stock
Export Light
Molson Dry
Coors
Molson Golden
Molson Porter
Foster's Light
Old Vienna
Miller Lite
Black Horse
Black Label

MOTION ON MEECH LAKE PASSED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE N.D.P.–QUEBEC

November 1989

WHEREAS constitutional negotiations which take place only among heads of governments contradict basic democratic principles and can only reflect the positions of the traditional parties; and

WHEREAS the Meech Lake Accord, like the Canada Bill before it, is the result of this type of bargaining and cannot be considered an acceptable substitute for a democratic constitutional process; and

WHEREAS the Meech Lake Accord ignores the existence of the Quebec people as a 'nation,' just as it ignores the rights of native peoples, women and working people in general; and

WHEREAS the most recent convention of NDP–Quebec, in reaction to the anti-democratic character and contents of the Meech Lake Accord, has come out against this accord and proposes in its place the development of a democratic consititution by a consituent assembly elected by the people; and

WHEREAS this position substantially reflects that of the trade union federations in Quebec and of those other representative organizations across Canada whose goals are common with those of the NDP;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

1. that the federal NDP reaffirm its fundamental commitment to democracy, whether in constitutional, political, economic or social matters;
2. that, consistent with this commitment, the federal NDP reject any consititutional undertaking unless it satisfies the following conditions:
    a) that the process of consititutional development be totally democratic;
    b) that it recognize both the existence of Quebec's people as a 'nation' and recognize their rights as such;
    c) that it guarantee the rights of women and native people, as well as the right of Canadian Workers to unionize and to collective bargaining;
    d) that it guarantee all those other social and individual rights and freedoms already seen as just by all Canadians; and
3. THAT because the Meech Lake Accord does not meet these conditions, the federal NDP rejects it.

the firebrand

Winter/hiver, 1989

Vol.1 No.2

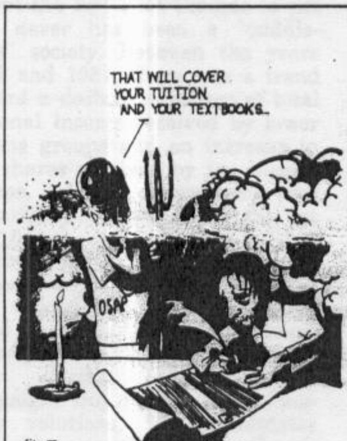
Published by the Glendon College New Democrats / Publié par les Néo-démocrates du Collège Glendon

Elitist *Blueprint for Action* denies universal access

By JAMES ANDERSON

The enduring discussion of the problems of post-secondary education of Ontario has brought about a new proposal. Originating at Queen's University in Kingston, the *Blueprint for Action* must be brought to the attention of all students and we must oppose its draconian conservatism.

The document calls for an increase in tuition fees of $125 each year for a period of five years to a total of $625. The report adds that "normal increases relating to inflation" will still be applied, in addition to the $125 per annum "adjustment." A 1989 paper by the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) shows that tuition fees have consistently parallelled inflation, while operating grants from government have not. Glendon College has just increased its tuition this year by 7.9%, and is now the most expensive non-private university in the country. Students at Glendon know that they gave carried more than their share of the burden in alleviating the financial crisis in Ontario education.



THAT WILL COVER YOUR TUITION AND YOUR TEXTBOOKS..
OSAP

OSAP will not be adjusted for increases

Most proponents of tuition increases have argued that the Ontario Student Assistance Programme (OSAP) will neutralize the impact of such hikes upon low-income students. But the Blueprint proposes that OSAP not be adjusted, despite the tuition increases which the document demands. OSAP is already on inadequate band-aid for the economic problems of students from working-class families. OSAP has risen by only 71% over the last ten years, even though inflation in this province has gone up by more than 95%. Increasingly, OSAP had little impact upon tuition hikes, and

Blueprint - page 3

IN THIS ISSUE:

- Great quotes from some of America's great minds . . . page 3
- Ontario tritium is keeping the arms race going . . . page 4
- Food costs pinch Glendon students . . . . page 4
- Human Rights: a socialist perspective . . . . page 5
- Can workers and environmentalists see eye-to-eye? . . . . . . page 5
- Soviet workers cool to Perestroika from above . . . . page 6
- The wall is down! Is the ghost of Stalin dead in the GDR? page 7
- Proposed Tory abortion law insults women . . . . page 8

NDP leadership campaign lacks inspired direction

By STEPHEN SOBOL

On December first, second and third, socialists from across Canada gathered in Winnipeg with the purpose of electing a new federal leader for the New Democratic Party. The delegates had a choice from amongst former British Columbia Premier David Barrett, Ian Waddell, Howard McCurdy, Audrey McLaughlin, Steven Langdon, Simon de Jong or Roger Legasse, a high school principal from British Columbia. Unfortunately, not one of the candidates could have been properly classified as a socialist, which is rather unfortunate considering the rising acceptability of the new right agenda.

The leadership race occurs at a time when the global capitalist economy is undergoing massive and profound changes. With the decline of the American empire, the world has been witnessing massive changes in the structure of capital. Along with this structural change, there has occurred a technological revolution based on the microchip which has affected every phase of industrial production. The era of heavy industry appears to be passing as information-intensive industries and technologies fundamentally alter the way products are produced as well as the nature of the products themselves. Global capital is beginning to shift its investments from northern climates to southern climates, from high-wage regions to low-wage regions, from countries with democratic traditions to countries ruled by dictators and military juntas. For Canada, all of these realities have meant economic decline. As a country, we have been experiencing lower levels of employment and a growing wage gap between workers and management. In short, the global capitalist economy is deeply mired in a profound crisis. Hence, socialists from across

No real - page 2

NPD appuyé candidat élu

Le candidat Mike Laxer, appuyé par les Néo-démocrates de Glendon, a été élu membre du Conseil étudiant de Glendon, lors de la dernière campagne électorale cet automne. En orientant sa campagne sur la nécessité d'apporter des changements sociaux fondamentaux, Le candidat élu centra son attention sur le besoin de rejeter clairement le "Queen's Blueprint" qui menace l'accessibilité à l'éducation universitaire.

No real leaders in NDP race

from page 1

Canada should have been witnessing an excellent socialist debate as the left tries to develop coherent responses to the crisis of capitalism.

Instead, we have been treated to a load of rhetoric resembling the ideology of the welfare liberals. None of the candidates came out in opposition to the capitalist mode of production. They preferred to talk about reforming the system by giving it a more humane face. None of the candidates realized that the capitalist system is based on inequality and exploit-ation and cannot survive without these inherent characteristics. Hence they failed to discern that it is next to impossible to put a more humane face on the capital-ist method of production.

Because of the candidates' incorrect beliefs, they do not accept the fact that Canada is not and never has been a "middle-class" society. Between the years 1977 and 1984, there was a trend toward a decline in shares of total national income received by lower income groups and an increase in the shares received by top income groups. In 1984, there were over 1.2 million children under the age of 16--one out of five--in low income families. This represented an increase of 35% since 1980. All the candidates were aware of these realities and other such figures, and all had spoken about them during the leadership campaign. But none offered long-term solutions. The candidates prefered to push for the "band-aid" solutions of reform politics, while failing to identify the capitalist system as the major cause of such social problems. Consequently, it came as no surprise that none of the leadership candidates spoke of replacing capitalism with socialism.

What has been the result of this "middle-class", "band-aid" approach to politics as presented by all of the candidates? Essentially, all of the contenders made a conscious effort to distance themselves from the labour movement and, consequently, the working-class. As a result, they all rejected any vision of a future socialist society. This is a fundamental reality which was rejected by all seven candidates.

Robert White, President of the Canadian Auto Workers, recognized this reality in a letter entitled *From Defeat To Renewal; Our Party: Where Do We Go Now?* He writes that "Because of the labour movement's strategic role in the economy, any vision of socialism had to be based on the working-class: What other major economic player had goals with social democracy?" It is curious that Mr. White, the country's most powerful and popular union leader, endorsed Audrey McLaughlin, who evaded the question of putting forward an economic concept of Canada based on the people who produce the wealth. This about-turn was scorned by labour delegates.

Whom, then, should socialists have supported as the future leader of the NDP? **Nobody**. None of the candidates offered any vision of a future socialist society based on the working-class. All of them made a deliberate attempt to distance themselves from the trade-union movement. They seemed to feel that unions are a political liability rather than an instrument of working-class struggle. David Barrett won the support of several trade-union leaders, but his insensitive, and often bigoted, approach towards Québec effectively eliminated him from any consideration. Audrey McLaughlin based her campaign on the fact that she is a woman, while emphasizing trite clichés like 'working together' and dodging the issues of substance. While it is good to have a woman as leader, voting for gender over principle would justify voting for Margaret Thatcher just because she is a woman. The rest of the field could best be described as political opportunists trying to make a name for themselves through hollow rhetoric.

What the NDP needs during the crisis of capitalism and the waning acceptance of the new right agenda is a leader with a genuine socialist vision. It requires a leader who has formulated a true socialist ideology, a leader who can point the way to a truly democratic society, a leader who understands that socialism can only come through the emancipation of the working-class, a leader who understands that the real enemy is the capitalist mode of production. Unfortunately, the present contenders for the leadership of the federal NDP do not fit the mould.

the firebrand

The Firebrand est le journal des Néo-démocrates du Collège Glendon. Il est publié quatre fois par année. Tous les textes signés reflètent les opinions des auteurs.

The Firebrand is the journal of the Glendon New Democrats and is published four times a year. All signed articles reflect the views of the author.

Collectif Editorial Collective
Michael Laxer, James Anderson,
Jeffrey Smith, Stephen Sobol.

Send correspondence and submissions to /
envoyez correspondence et articles à:

The Glendon College New Democrats /
Les Néo-démocrates du Collège Glendon
c/o GCSU/AECG
Collège Glendon College
2275 Bayview Ave.
TORONTO, ONT.
M4N 3M6

Special thanks to Jean Gilles and Janice for translating this thing.
Jim owes you a beer!

Boycott de Molson est annulé

Après avoir rattifié une entente avec la Compagnie Molson, le Local 304 du syndicat des travailleurs et travailleuses de la brasserie et des boissons gazeuses ont annulé leur appel au boycott. La compagnie a en effet accepté d'offrir des postes à 260 des 500 employés qui allaient être limogés en décembre, avec la fermeture de la firme située sur le boulevard Lakeshore. Les travailleurs et travailleuses de la brasserie remercient les supporteurs dont le boycott a influencé la compagnie.

Blueprint for Action: Blood from a stone

from page 1

even less upon cost of living increases - it costs students living away from home 86% more than what OSAP provides, according to the OFS. If OSAP is ineffective now, it will become self-defeating in the context of the *Blueprint for Action* since students are often afflicted with enormous debts after graduation.

Along with raising the student contribution to education, the *Blueprint* calls for a raise in government funding with the goal being a provincial contribution of 3 parts to every one incurred by students. This section of the Queen's University paper raises immediate fears, as its demands from government are to be phased in over nine years (instead of the five allotted to students) and the government's portion of funds is subject to annual review. The worst scen-ario (always possible in an Ontario ruled by Liberals) is that the government will abandon its responsibility once attention to the plan has waned and the student contributions have been exacted.

Government falling behind in obligations

It is the operating grants per student which have consistently lagged behind inflation and the accompanying increases in tuition The portion of the provincial budget allocated to universities has steadily fallen. Under the Conservatives and later the Liberals, the province has been unwilling to address directly the funding problems in post-secondary institutions. Now that they have presumably opened their eyes, a plan is devised to pass the relative bulk of financial needs to students.

The universities are also called upon to take a part in solving the crisis, but again, considering the solid requirements foisted on students by this document, the role of universities is full of holes. Universities are asked to expand bursary programmes in order to improve the learning environment through facility upgrading and lower student to faculty ratios.

The *Blueprint* would allow, however, that "each institution would determine its own agenda for the use of...funds." The document has the audacity to suggest that "students...could monitor the implementation of...adjustments." This is ludicrous, considering that students, even student governments, have little impact upon policies to which university boards of governors set their minds.

The danger that this plan will gain support among university administrations is profound when we consider that the governing boards are replete with representatives of big business. While students would be subjected to firm financial obligations, the *Blueprint*, in sharp contrast, extends a "challenge" to the private sector to match student contributions. The paper praises business for its generous donations amounting to a paltry 7% of revenues for education!

Blueprint allows private sector to duck responsibility

And which sector of society benefits most from university graduates? Even as the *Blueprint* describes the need for a "partnership" in solving the current crisis, it demands *nothing* from the private sector.

This proposal is dangerous in another aspect: it presumes to offer solutions to the problem of equality of accessibility to post-secondary education. However, it

Blueprint - page 4

EMBARQUE!

Si devenir membre des Néo-démocrates de Glendon t'intéresse, n'hésite pas à nous contacter. Nous avons besoin de toi que ce soit à notre table de livres, sur le comité de rédaction de ce journal ou lors d'événements spéciaux. Le militantisme politique des étudiants et étudiantes est non seulement une tradition, c'est une véritable formation en soi.

SAY THE RIGHT THING

Compiled by MICHAEL LAXER

The right in the United States has left behind it a vast number of words of insight during this decade of neo-conservatism. To cap off a wonderful enlightening ten years, let us let the intellects of America speak for themselves:

- "The Soviet Union has a powerful lobby in the United States which consists of communists, socialists, greedy bankers and businessmen, pacifists, and cowards." - *Conservative columnist Charlie Reese of the Manchester (N.H.)* Union Leader.
- "When local government becomes too close to the people, it inevitably leads to corruption" - *Republican National Committeeman Dan H. Archer Jr. upon opposing a plan to elect city council members in San Antonio, Texas*
- "To a civilian it may sound strange, but one encouraging sign is that the second lieutenants are starting to die out there, that means they are making mistakes and their own mistakes are killing them, but they are leading men and being aggressive." - *A U.S. military advisor in El Salvador as quoted in the New York Times.*
- "Ronald Reagan is a second echelon member of the communist conspiracy" - *John McManus, public relations director of the John Birch Society.*
- "There are instances where it is in the best interests of the nation not to vote the will of the people" - *House Speaker Tip O'Neill, explaining why congress granted itself a pay raise without voting on the issue.*
- "The atomic bomb is a marvellous gift that was given to our country by a wise God" - *Republican activist Phyllis Schlafly*
- "Folks read about the electric chair, they hear about it - but those folks with criminal minds don't care about the law. But if they see that chair moving down the highway, it might save a life." - *Republican Senator Ronnie Walker upon having voted in favour of a travelling electric chair for Georgia.*
- "A gun is a recreational tool, like a golf club or a tennis racket. You can kill someone with a golf club, you know." - *Martel Lovelace, an official of the National Rifle Association.*
- "Dear registrant; our records indicate you have not responded to our initial request for necessary date of birth information..." - *Received at Disney Land, a letter from the Selective Service System addressed to Mr. Mickey M. Mouse.*

Yes folks, I think this decade maybe best summed up by a headline over an Associated Press story on the front page of the Lima Ohio *News*. **"Reagan helps sling sandbags; floods worsen."**

Blueprint refuses access

from page 3

ignores the root cause of inaccessibility, which is economic inequality, manifested here in tuition fees. The OFS has shown that the participation rate of underprivileged strata of the population increases when tuition accounts for less of the average family income, and that it decreases - or increases at a slower pace - when tuition accounts for a higher percentage of income. The facts are clear: the *Blueprint* will be detrimental to achieving the goal of equal access. It would seem, in fact, that proponents of this plan are of the opinion that accessibility should be sacrificed in favour of improved education for the precious few who will be able to afford it.

Québec students make gains through action

The students of Québec have had the benefit of a freeze on tuition fees, and they enjoy the lowest costs in Canada. Even so, when anti-student proposals (like this one) are introduced there, students do not hesitate to engage in province-wide strikes. Students must realize that our channels of redress are few and virtually ineffective, at least in the corridors of power. Our action must take place on a different plane, and we must consider a student strike as a possible response to the *Blueprint for Action*.

The Glendon New Democrats calls for an end to the financial *penalties* incurred upon students for the sake of schooling: education must be free so that accessibility might be universal. We demand the elimination of OSAP loans in favour of an enhanced grant programme to cover the living expenses of lower income students. We feel that it is time to abandon the traditional method of running universities through Boards of Governors, which are disproportionately representative of big business. *Students* must control universities, or, at least, be made real partners in the governing boards, as per the democratic ideal.

In the short run, the NDP at Glendon rejects the *Blueprint for Action* as an attack on the right to learn and calls upon all students and their student union representatives to do the same, for the sake of our own interests.

Students must control food services

By MICHAEL LAXER

Glendon students from outside of Toronto depend upon campus food services to survive. In order for many of them to be able to come here form other parts of the country these services must be kept affordable. Over the last few years, however, food costs have become more and more expensive increasing at much more than the rate of in-flation. Why is this?

Most universities in Canada have cafeterias run by the administration, with the objective of providing the necessary services. Here, however, the cafeteria and the even more expensive Bistro are run by a private catering corporation whose objective is to turn a profit. This corporation gets a total monopoly on food sales here and can raise costs without fear of losing business. The pub may give a little completion, but its limited menu could not suitably sustain the student population. Last year the meal plan cost was raised by over $400, that is 25% over last year's costs. In exchange for this extra cash the company has only added to its services the tuck shop, with its very limited selection, and its highly inflated prices.

The administration has a responsibility to provide low cost food services to students who have no choice but to buy a meal plan. With services in the control of a private company this will not happen. It is up to the students to demand a change. The cafeteria can and should be run at cost by and for the students. Without pressure from the Student's Union and Residents' Council, the situation won't be corrected. While Residents' Council, under Patricia Arnold, did a lot to challenge the administration, they, now that she has been forced out, and the GCSU no longer do so. Only us, by pressuring our GCSU representatives, can push them to act in the student's interests.

Ontario gov't fuels cold war

Reprinted from the ONDP Caucus News *Sept. 15, 1989.*

The Ontario government has announced it will allow the sale of radioactive tritium to the United States for "peaceful purposes", a move NDP Energy Critic Brian Charlton says will fuel the arms race.

Tritium is a key component in nuclear warheads and is also used in medical research and commercial lighting.

Energy Minister Lyn McLeod said she is "satisfied that there are stringent controls" to assure tritium is sold only for non-military use. However, Charlton said the minister clearly doesn't understand the implications of her decision.

"Tritium is a key component in nuclear arms," Charlton said. "By selling our tritium to the U.S. it frees up their existing supply for use by the arms industry.

"The United States has only a very limited supply of tritium and they are fast running out."

Charlton disputes McLeod's claim that the U.S. is winding down their production of nuclear missiles therefore out tritium will not be used for defence. "That's irrelevant. Unless tritium is regularly replaced in existing warheads they become inactive. To keep a nuclear arsenal active you must have dependable supply."

Charlton said no guarantee is good enough to ensure tritium is used for peaceful purposes. "There is simply no way to keep track of this stuff once it crosses our border."

Tuitions to rise 8%

The Ontario government announced Nov. 27th that tuition fees for colleges and universities will increase 8% next year, an average of $135 per student. Conway, Liberal Minister of Education, said that OSAP will be adjusted to help those most in need.

Edith Garneau, President of the OFS said that the student lobby group wasn't consulted about the decision. She pointed out that this increase will only discourage more people from post-secondary education.

Political and economic realities cannot be disregarded in fight for human rights

By JEFFREY SMITH

There are few issues that are, on the surface, more indisputable than that of human rights. The West rarely misses a chance to pronounce its undying support for human rights in the underdeveloped countries or in the East. However this moral high-ground is subverted by a variety of discrepancies and contradictions. In the West, we identify human rights from a rather myopic position. Being a liberal capitalist society, we define them as a set of ideals or values that are conducive to this ideology. These include free speech, freedom of the press, the right to private property, the right to (but not necessarily from) religion and 'responsible' government. Although most of these freedoms are positive, only a handful of people have any meaningful access to them. What this definition fails to include are some basic needs of society-at-large such as the right to employment, the right to higher educat- the right to housing, and the right to affordable health care. Unfortunately, these inalienable rights don't fall into the liberal capitalist Lockian framework, which sees such needs as nuisances to a more consequential liberty; the operation of the free market.

At this point, human rights and economics converge to bring to light the hypocrisy of Western assumptions on human rights. While capital uses money to restrict access to human needs--like housing and work--in order to ensure a taut supply-and-demand in the home market, multinationals are also busy in the underdeveloped countries. They can take advantage of environments where huge profits are ensured by brutal dictatorships.

In these countries, state terrorism against trade unions and progressive elements within their societies, coupled with negligible safety and environmental standards, ensures a demoralized, submissive and underpaid labour force, and therefore, inexpensive produce to the West. The political suppression that accompanies these régimes can consequently be seen as necessary to the health of Western Capital.

While our governments may occasionally point the finger at some of these states over flagrant human rights violations, it remains 'business as usual' for the vast majority. Thatcher's shameful lashing-out at African leaders, during last month's commonwealth summit, for suggesting *limited* sanctions against South Africa distinguishes her, yet again as a woman more interest-ed in British private profit than human rights. Even Joe Clark's commendable leadership of the rest of the commonwealth countries against Thatcher's stance was undermined by his own party's refusal to impose full sanctions.

Despite Ottawa's claim that our government is doing what it can to combat human right violations, it continues to support many "friendly" governments that suppress their own populations. Amnesty International has identified 60 countries that employ frequent torture and brutal treatment of dissidents in order to maintain power. Unfortunately, Canada continues to sell arms to any country regardless of their human rights records if it can be shown that these arms will not to be used against civilians. Unfortunately the guidelines are very vague. For example, a radio set or a helmet can hardly be considered offensive weapons, but they are integral parts to any military apparatus. Furthermore, disclosure practices make it impossible to identify who is receiving Canadian military assistance. Evidence suggests that Canada is dealing with 45 countries, 28 of which have been cited by Amnesty International as Human rights violators including Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, South Korea, Pakistan and Paraguay.

Human rights in many of the so-called socialist states have greatly improved since the introduction of glasnost, but in the Soviet Union, trade union rights

Human - page 8

Labour and the environment:

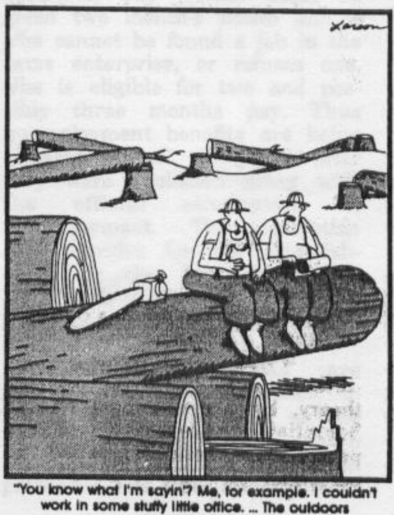
Can socialism resolve the contradiction?

By MICHAEL LAXER

Today, our world is facing the greatest danger in its history. Centuries of pillage have taken their toll on what once were seen as limitless resources. As the final frontiers of nature on our planet are being annihilated in what seems a science fiction nightmare, countless animal and plant species are confronted with the very real possibility of total extinction. While visionaries saw the threat that the endlessly acquisitive society posed many decades ago, only now is the population of the world as a whole awakening to this tragic reality. Slowly the realization that something must be done is stirring even the most complacent to action. This increasing desire to ensure humanity's future is bringing with it a rethinking of the values which our society has held since the dawn of the industrial age and capitalism.

The world that the dual economic and political revolutions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created had an accompanying philosophical belief system. This system, which survives to this day, views human beings and the world's natural environment only in terms of ion, economic exploitability and utility. Human beings are not seen as worthy in and of themselves, but only in so far as they contribute to the economic progress of the industrial process and thus to the coffers of the owners of the means of production, the capital-ists. Nature is also viewed in such a perspective. To today's business groups nature is not regarded as something which has innate value, ie. as something to be cherished for its own sake, but

Environment - page 8



"You know what I'm sayin'? Me, for example. I couldn't work in some stuffy little office. ... The outdoors just calls to me."

Perestroika must come from below

The bureaucracy's drive to restructure the Soviet economy is running into friction from the working class, as was illustrated in the miners' strikes this summer. In by-passing the concerns of the rank-and-file workers, perestroika is increasingly being viewed as a threat to the social well-being of the Soviet people. Only with mass input from below can it be put into effect to improve the lot of the working people.

The following article looks at the consequences of this "rationalization" and the manner in which it is being imposed from above.

Abridged reprint from International Viewpoint #168, July 31, 1989.

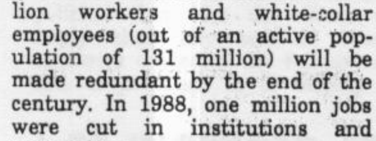
By DAVID SEPPO

Few people would dispute the claim that Soviet enterprises are over-staffed and that economic efficiency requires a certain redistribution and hence mobility of labour. On the other hand, Soviet workers have come to see the *de facto* job security that existed under the "command system" as an acquired right.

Under the economic reform, which is only in its first stages and whose ultimate destination is unforeseeable, it has been officially estimated that at least 16 million workers and white-collar employees (out of an active population of 131 million) will be made redundant by the end of the century. In 1988, one million jobs were cut in institutions and enterprises.

Being forced to leave one's factory, and possibly one's town and region, and to retrain in a new profession is not a pleasant experience in any circumstances. Soviet workers clearly do not like this change, even though the prospect of being made redundant is still distant for most.

In a survey of 55 enterprises conducted in 1986-7, less than 15% of the responses were prepared to entertain the prospect of moving to another enterprise, and then only if they could keep the same trade and income. Only 5% expressed readiness to move to another town. Commenting on letters in reaction to an article on employment, the director of the State Planning Commission's Research Institute concluded sadly that "we have a simplified understanding of guarantees: to get work in the same profession and same enterprise". The authorities readily admit that the staff reductions will cause "emotional turmoil and disappointment" and that a "serious psychological restructuring is necessary and unavoidable".



This should not be taken to mean that Soviet workers are inherently conservative, determined to hold on to their "privileges" even at the expense of economic and social progress. All the evidence shows the workers are as fed-up with the old system as any group. But attitudes toward the present reform - and the loss of job security in particular - are strongly influenced by the question of social guarantees.

A joint party-government-trade union resolution published on January 20 last year states that staff reductions must be decided on a democratic basis, with the participation of labour collectives in an atmosphere of openness. The worker must be given two month's notice and if s/he cannot be found a job in the same enterprise, or refuses one, s/he is eligible for two and possibly three months pay. Thus unemployment benefits are being restored almost 60 years after they were abolished along with the official elimination of unemployment. The resolution also provides for the establishment for the first time of a nationwide system of job placement, retraining and vocational guidance.

Workers' interests are further guaranteed, at least in theory, by the new Law on the Socialist Enterprise, which provides for election of managerial personnel and the establishment of elected labour-collective councils with broad powers of control and partici-pation in management. Also, a new draft law on trade unions emphasizes their primary rôle as defenders of workers' interests, a rôle that the trade-union press has also been trying to resurrect.

But the sad fact is that four years into *perestroika* none of these guarantees yet exist. Democratization of enterprise management and of trade unions has, with very few exceptions, not happened.

It is also worth noting that none of these new laws and policy decisions were taken in a genuinely democratic manner, While some public discussion generally has occurred - and this is progress - the discussion has centred on draft laws or policy proposals formulated and handed down from above, There have been no alternative proposals. As a result the discussion at best, results in changes of detail. And once the discussion ends, the final decision remains with the bureaucratic authorities. But this is the case for the economic reform as a whole - except for details, it has never been the subject of a public debate confronting different alternatives which are then put to a vote.

An abuse which has become widespread with the new wage reform is the arbitrary demotion of workers to lower skill categories. This is an illegal, but convenient, way for management to meet the requirements of the wage reform that calls for basic wage rates to be raised through economies in the enterprise Management merely claims that the enterprise does not have jobs requiring high skills, and the workers are forced to comply or quit. When questions are asked, the standard answer is "we are reorganizing".

In the absence of guarantees, loss of security is bound to be very disturbing, even if, as noted, most workers do not yet feel a direct threat to their jobs. This is not just a question of compassion for those dismissed. Even those who keep their jobs are materially affected, The market reform, the loss of job

Let - page 7

GDR's Stalinist wall remains

Media turns blind-eye to real reformers

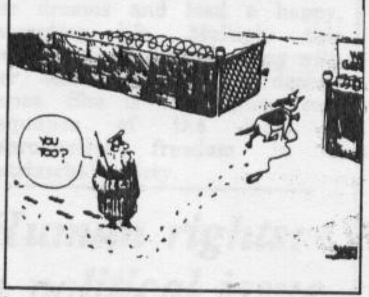
By JEFFREY SMITH

Caught up in a political crisis, the bureaucracy of the most economically advanced of the workers' states, East Germany (GDR), has had to give in to the demands of its own people. Until this month, the ruling SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Socialist Unity Party) has held that just because the people next door are changing their wall paper doesn't mean that you have to redecorate your own house. Then it happened. Public pres-sure, along with the massive exodus to the West, had built up to the point where it was impos-sible to retain them except by armed force. The wall had to fall.

The Western media heralded this turn of events, as it has in the cases of China, Poland and Hungary, as "the collapse of the socialist ideology" and smugly pronounced the superiority of western capitalism.

This ethnocentric attitude doesn't take into account simple political fact. for the West to imply that any one of these countries embodies the fundamentals of socialism is to display a total ignorance of either the state in question or the basic concepts of the socialist ideology, or both. Although the Communist parties themselves claim that their countries are socialist, they ignore the theoretical framework of socialism.

What has been restraining economic development of these countries hasn't been socialism, but bureaucratic mismanagement. In the GDR this has been manifested in disorganization, interruptions and waste, while workers stand by. Their protests are discouraged and anyone who speaks up stands the chance of being demoted, transferred or even fired. Not unlike here in the 'free world', East German worker's have no say in their workplaces. Workers' control is at the very foundation of socialist thought.



Political democracy must be coupled with this economic democracy. According to East German law, political dissent, *per se*, is tolerated in the GDR, although it cannot result in organized activity. Nevertheless, there has been a certain measure of tolerance, but the SED has managed to thwart opposition by allowing activists to work under the auspices of the church, which remains apolitical. These groups are characteristically ecological, socialist and pro-disarmament, and declare solidarity with their western counterparts.

Genuine socialist groups have managed to emerge in the GDR; the major opposition organization, the New Forum, the Democratic Breakthrough and the Böhlen Appeal are examples. Amongst their demands are calls for socialist democratic freedoms, disarmament, independent trade unions and workers' self-management. Furthermore many have criticised the Western European Communist parties of championing "galloping social democratization" and of lacking internationalism. The Böhlen Appeal has also denounced interference from western capitalism and 'fraternal aid' from the workers' states. Marx would have approved, but the leaderships in these so-called socialist republics accuse *them* of anti-socialist activities.

Obviously then, these Communist Party bureaucrats are more interested in saving their privileged positions than promoting real socialism, which is, by its nature, democratic. In true Stalinist fashion they have usurped the power from the workers while enhancing their own privileges.

To call these states socialist is not only misleading, but an affront to those who espouse socialist values both in the East and West. As such we applaud the democratization taking place in the workers' states, but we have no illusions over the need to oust the ruling apparatus. This is not achieved by replacing socialist achievements, such as full employment and universal social services, but by a democratic revolution led by elected workers' representatives.

Let workers restructure USSR

From page 6

security and the spectre of structural unemployment necessarily change the balance of forces in the enterprise, providing management with powerful new means and incentives for controlling labour and intensifying its exploitation.

Some members of the intelligentsia, unlike official spokespeople, have openly called for a "little unemployment" as an incentive to better work. Shmelev, a well-known advocate of radical market reform, has openly called for a "small reserve army of labour", hastening to add "that the state, of course, would not leave [it] to the whims of fate". And he explains the need for a stick with which to discipline the workers.

In Yugoslavia, where large-scale unemployment has existed for many years, enterprise self-management has meant that those already working could safeguard their jobs. But now, following the same logic as Hungary, the regime has decided the only thing it could - that Yugoslavia's crisis is due to an insufficient use of the market. It is, accordingly, moving to undermine self-management in order to establish a real labour market.

It is the bureaucracy's answer to the crisis of the "command economy". In contrast, any working class response would place democracy at the centre of the economic system, making social solidarity, based upon social decision-making and a concern for social justice increasingly prominent as the motivation for economic actors. This working class alternative has appeared in the public debate mostly in the form of veiled criticism by a handful of Marxist economists of the regime's reform. Although these ideas are still marginal and generally dismissed as utopian, as they surely must seem from an administrator's point of view, they will surely cease to be so once the working class mobilizes politically. There are some grounds for optimism on this score.

The human consequences of the Tory anti-abortion bill

By **CELESTE LEDUIGOU**

The Tories have given Canadian women a legal slap in the face, introducing a new law restricting freedom of choice on the abortion issue. The message accompanying the proposed law is that women are too irresponsible to exercise reproductive control over their own bodies. This law puts the right of women to control their own destiny out of their hands, and into the hands of doctors, who supposedly can judge better than the women herself whether or not a pregnancy termination is in her interests; even though it is she who must ultimately carry the fetus for nine months and raise the child for the better part of her life.

The words 'reproductive freedom' invariably come up in debate on the abortion question, but what do they actually mean? Reproductive freedom is the right to control not only our bodies, ourselves, but to choose the direction of our lives. without this freedom, women have no freedom.

Take the example of a 42 year-old women named Anne (names have been changed to protect the identity of those in question). At the age of 22 she was a promising concert pianist who toured Europe yearly. Her ambition was to teach at the Royal Conservatory of Music. She then married Richard, a devout Catholic. After they married he declared that using birth control was against the will of God, and forbade her to use it. Subsequently, she had three children concurrently when her original intention was to have one, and only when they were financially stable.

Anne wanted to terminate the second two pregnancies, but Richard threatened to bring a lawsuit against her, convinced that abortion was a mortal sin.

Richard controlled the finances, and refused to pay for the child care of the three children, all under the age of five. Because of the tremendous strain of being confined to the house and trying to raise their children, she suffered four nerv-ous breakdowns. The drugs Anne was forced to take destroyed her nervous system, rendering her unable to practise the piano.

For many years she was terrified to seek a divorce, for fear that he would use her history of mental illness to deprive her of custody. She had no marketable skills, and the prospect of taking care of three children in poverty did not excite her.

This women had a tremendous potential to actualize her dreams and lead a happy, rewarding life. Multiply this women a thousandfold, along with her suffering and her dashed hopes. She is the human consequence of the lack of reproductive freedom in a patriarchal society.

SUBSCRIBE

→ The quarterly for New Democratic students and youth

the firebrand

-Student, NDP, national and world issues, plus theory

Subscriptions - 1 year $3

*Name*____________________
Address____________________
____
____

Return to:
THE FIREBRAND
22 Elkhorn Dr. #118
WILLOWDALE, Ont.
M2K 1J4

Human rights: a political issue

from page 5

have come under new attacks from the bureaucracy. It is interesting to note that the Western governments have refrained from the same criticism that was levelled against Poland during their labour crisis nine years ago. The difference is that Western capital is hoping to increase its investments in the Soviet Union and, as in any other state, unions are undesirable to this prospect

Any serious response to human rights violations must recognize that they cannot be separated from political reality. Whereas letter-writing campaigns and petitions may, or may not, free a prisoner of conscience out of thousands, they are only band-aid solutions which do more to alleviate the consciousnesses of liberals than to put an end to these violations. These liberals act as apologists for the status quo, by denying the need for a fundamental political and economic change in the West that would put an end to a system that perpetuates this subjugation. Western capitalism, which brings relative affluence to those living in the West, is the root cause of persecution which manifests itself in developing countries. Therefore we have an obligation to actively oppose the policies of our own governments, our banks and the multinationals. We must work through our political institutions towards real human rights, both at home and abroad.

Environment: a view from the left

from page 5

instead as an element whose value lies only in its potential profitability. In the same way that Karl Marx said was true of the worker in capitalist society, nature is alienated from its true self in that it functions only for the economic benefit of others and has thus lost its own inher-ent worth. "Man is simply a worker, and as a worker his human qualities only exist for the sake of capital...he exists only as a worker and not as a human being." (Marx, second economic and Philosophical manuscript)

It is this philosophy that today confronts the environmental movement. As public pressure to end some of the more flagrant abuses of our environment mounts, we are increasingly faced with a dangerous problem. In order to save nature entire sectors of industry must be rationalized or eliminated and with those sectors will go millions of jobs. Within the present socio-economic system nature can only be saved at the expense of these workers. If we maintain our pre-sent philosophical outlook and the class-based system that perpetuates it, we will also force the heavily indebted underdeveloped countries, which now have no choice but to plunder in the same way as we did and continue to do, into a state of perpetual poverty. Workers are painfully aware of the threat that the environmental groups, as they are now, pose to them and to their families, which explains, for example, the negative reaction of the unions on the Temagami logging issue. If the environmental movement does not face these realities it will lose the support of the working class to back it in its fight against the powerful business interests. Without this support base no movement can hope to defeat our entrenched corporate elites. Without a fundamental reappraisal of our society nature will continue to perish.

Ultimately the environmental movement must succeed, but in order to do so however, it must broaden its political and social objectives. Isolated victories are not enough. The pressing problems of the underdeveloped countries, job displacement, etc. must be confronted. But most of all the capitalist philosophy, which denigrates human beings and nature to the level of economic cogs, must be rejected in favour of socialism where the needs of people come before those of big business. If we want a future where humanity and nature can co-exits we have no other choice.

Nov 19, 1989

Minutes, ONDP Steering Committee

Present: Walter Stuart, Lois Bedard, Harry Kopyto, Gord Doctorow and Diane Meaghan. Also present a guest.

Minutes of the last meeting were not available.

Harry reported on his attendance at the Alberta Left Caucus meeting.

M/Gord, Sec./Harry that Gord and Harry and Hans Modlich be struck as committee members to prepare to circulate a draft statement concerning the Left Caucus at the upcoming forum. Vote not taken.

The forum - The Way Forward for the Left - scheduled for Nov. 25 in the NDP cacus room of the Parliament Buildings was discussed. It was deemed desirable to attempt to work out a common statement with the Alberta Left Caucus together with intervention strategies for the federal convention. Lois suggested that the platform will consist of Gord and Harry and herself as chair together with Judy Rebick, Bob Kasher and Dave Tomzack to motivate discussion on these matters from the floor.

Lois presented a truncated treasurer's report concerning the costs associated with the production of the last newsletter that produced approximately 2400 copies at a cost of approximately $1000. She mentioned that by her calculations that leaves us about $300 in debt and therefore we ought to think of ways to do some fund raising.

M/Diane Sec./Walter a procedural motion concerning the production of the newsletter. The motion read:

> I move that at the first meeting of the committee as a whole to produced the newsletter that the topics, the politics, the length of articles, the lay out and the potential authors be discussed until a consenses is reached and then people be assigned to write the articles within the Left Caucus, or if necessary, that we approach people outside of the Left Caucus if someone on the Steering Committee is unwilling to undertake the task. Any changes to the agreed upon format must have the consent of the Committee. At the second meeting of the committee a rough draft of each article to appear in the newsletter will be reviewed for political, content, grammar etc. and approved of by the Committee as a whole. Further meetings could then be instituted if necessary. Specific people or the Committee as a whole would then, and only then, be charged with the responsibility of producing the newsletter.

In speaking to the motion Diane mentioned that at the June 22 meeting when the motion passed to make the Committee as a whole the editorial committee it was the intent of that motion that the small group who have been writing,and selecting writers and topics,and the general production of the newsletter,be discussed and agreed to by everyone on the Steering Committee. She expressed dismay that this procedure was not followed in the production of the last newsletter despite almost a year of discussion and debate within the committee concerning accountability and change. It was specifically her intention that the political agenda of the newsletter be changed to reflect more emphasis on the left of gender and race relation issues. The production of the last newsletter brought the Committee together in July for a cursory exploration of topics and authors and then some in the group went off to produce the newsletter in the format that historically it has always presented in, with the consequences that many on the Steering Committee who wanted to be involved in writing and production were excluded from consultation, participation and consent and have not even seen the newsletter prior to its distribution for the general public at an all candidates debate.Diane mentioned that she didn't accept the argument that the newsletter had to be produced in this manner to meet the deadline for convention for there is always a reason, she said, electio convention etc. why some in the group have failed to listen to the politica interests of others on the Committee for the sake of expediency. Further, she stated that she will not work to produce the newsletter in any capacity in the future unless she has a voice in shaping that production and further she has little sympathy with a style of working that excludes people's participation and then moans that others on the Committee will not shoulder their fair share of the work and expense in producing the newsletter.

Gord mentioned that he thought that layout work could not be done at a first meeting. He disagreed with Diane that Natives and Women have not been represented in the newsletter. He stated that he had consulted with Judy Rebick who told him that abortion is the key issue for the women's movement at the moment and the decision was therefore made to approach a woman in OCAC to write an article when Judy declined. Gord stated that there is a lot of work and responsibility attached to the Left Caucus and some have abdicated their responsibility. He also stated that he is convinced that there is a lot of editorializing in the production phase of the newsletter.

Walter stated that he was amazed to hear that the newsletter had been put out after the preliminary meeting in July. He had expected to see drafts of the articles prior to production and full production, under the circumstances was unacceptable.

Lois mentioned the articles she has written concerning women in recent publications including Women and Meech Lake and Women and the NDP as well as the summary from the last conference pertaining to women's issues. Lois mentioned that after the July meeting the articles went to the editorial committee; or the production committee. She stated that meetings are properly called and if people do not wish to attend that is their concern. Lois stated that it was her understanding that the committee would pick the writers and the topics and then the newsletter would be left to the co-chairs to produce who would not call the Committee as a whole together for the task.

Motion Carried.

Meeting Adjourned at 10:00 p.m.

THE WAY FORWARD FOR THE LEFT AT THE
N.D.P. LEADERSHIP CONVENTION, 1989

Pre-convention support
Education prepare ourself
in how to.

HEAR **HARRY KOPYTO**

PRESENT:

※ FORMULTATIONS OF THE O.N.D.P. LEFT CAUCUS

※ REPORT ON THE ALBERTA LEFT CAUCUS

DISCUSS Strategies with **LOIS BEDARD**

united floor strategy
common purpose
priorities - floor strategies

rent table
$50.00

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26 **2:30 - 5:00 PM**

N.D.P. CAUCUS ROOM ~~#313~~ 351

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, QUEEN'S PARK

(enter by the east side entrance)

OPEIU,343

NDP LEFT CAUCUS ocr jd (Oct .14/11 **FINAL PROOF** ceo-jd Nov3/11 end

NDP LEFT CAUCUS

FOR AN ACTIVIST NDP!
FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA!I

(Archive found in November `89)

Our Convention takes place as North American business interests and their deficit reduction hysteria promoted by the Liberals-Tories-Reform Party threaten the future of Canadians. There is a burning need for leadership to mobilize the victims of this policy against the right wing monopoly of federalist politics in Canada. The challenge before this Convention is to understand the roots of the problem and to develop a program and strategy to resist it.

The real danger to Canada does not come from the Québécois who yearn, in their francophone majority, to take control over their destiny, and who can hardly be inspired by a federalist Canada which is increasingly coming to resemble a mere imitation of U.S. society. It comes from the tentacles of U.S. trans-nationals which choke our economy, grasp our resources, and mock our defences against their rapacious greed.

The Liberals, like the Tories before, have bowed down before the U.S. monopolies. Indeed, all previous governments have deepened the integration of our economy with U.S. capitalism, succumbing subserviently to the whims of their senior partners on Wall Street and in Washington. The Canadian powder monkeys of U.S. capitalism have proven so loyal that the United States Government does not seek nor need the formal loss of sovereignty by Canada with the sycophantic leadership of the Liberal, Tory, and Reform Parties to do their bidding.

Profit margins have become the primary criterion for all state decision-making. Canada's economic elite no longer pretends to maintain and defend what has made Canada unique and apart — its sense of social solidarity, the commitment to a basic modicum of rights to health, education and security, the social values which reflect the cooperative spirit which was the social victory of the CCF, NDP, labour, and farmer movements.

On the contrary, the major thought-shaping institutions of our society, including the media and government, have unleashed a cacophony of deficit-cutting hysteria in the name of efficiency, realism, competition and free trade. This coordinated drive aims to take away from Canadians what they have strived for and achieved over decades. The result? Bank and industrial profits soar while unprecedented cutbacks force millions of Canadians — youth and women especially — into unemployment and the daily degradation of grinding poverty. This is the irrationality of late capitalism: massive under-consumption by the lower strata of society combined with massive over-production of goods under the direction of the corporate elite.

The working people of Canada daily experience the convulsions of an unstable Canadian capitalism descending into the arena of international trade wars as a satellite of the United States. The Canadian people are searching for answers and for solutions. They are ready for an alternative. In part, these yearnings have contributed to the fracturing of the Conservative Party, the rejection of an NDP perceived as the left-wing of the Liberal Party and a growing disillusionment, even cynicism, with politics. Yet in large numbers Canadians remain far from defeated or forever committed to the populist right to whom they have turned because no one else was there. Canadian workers still retain their sense of combativity, their desire to protect their unions, their willingness to fight to maintain their gains, their commitment to control their own destiny as a society and as a country.

The Left Caucus of the NDP believes that only the vision of an independent, socialist Canada can become the banner to rally the victims of state-enforced and created austerity, unemployment and loss of sovereignty. A bold vision of a Canada where Canadians share their productive wealth and financial resources for the betterment of humanity can counter the new, rapacious greed and consumerism engendered by a materialist, capitalist society. A clear program for an independent and socialist Canada can reassert the values that historically gave the NDP and the CCF before it its broad and popular support among the dispossessed and hopeless and which united the best of each generation to fight for a cooperative society. The *Regina Manifesto** involved a commitment to abolish capitalism, not to reform it or run it better than the others. It meant taking back our productive wealth and allowing the producers to collectively decide how to administer the economy through workers' control.

It is the same spirit of social solidarity, this same sense of unity that gives labour unions and working people everywhere a sense of purpose beyond their isolated existence that the NDP must now tap into in order to reassert its presence as a relevant and dynamic political force. This it can only do by being as proud of its commitment to democratic socialism as the capitalist parties are to capitalism.

But more than this is needed. The NDP, from top to bottom, root and branch, leadership, membership and rank and file must implant itself in the social movements, both existing and nascent, to counter the erosion of our social and economic gains. We must be an activist party that joins people in struggle day by day. New Democrats must be seen marching with the Native peoples and not ordering them to jail, embracing the right of the Québécois to freely determine their future in whatever form they choose rather than echoing the Canadian establishment and blurring our distinct image as we did during the Charlottetown Accord debates. New Democrats must open the doors of the Party wide to the women's movement instead of dismissing it as a “special interest group". We must embrace the environmental movement, the movements for sexual equality and the movements for human rights. We must become the prime advocate for their rightful demands. This means going back to our roots as a broad-based social movement whose goal is to empower working people and their allies. Our role in Parliament must be subservient to this strategy rather than the determinant of our politics. We must ditch once and for all the practice of allowing Parliamentary manoeuvres to compromise our principles and create confusion among our supporters as was done in the past.

Only such a strategy can infuse the Party with a renewed and activist vigour and re-establish its now weakened base among the social forces that can guide socialism in Canada. Ultimately, to transform Canada, the NDP must once again become the proud voice of the labour movement and show the same political loyalty to the working class that the capitalist parties show to their corporate masters.

To move beyond our present isolation, we endorse the movement-building direction of Svend Robinson's campaign which most closely approximates the positions which the Left Caucus has always advocated. But his election as leader is only the first necessary step in the direction we must achieve.

The road to revitalize the NDP is clear — it means making our Party active 365 days a year under the distinct banner of a call for an independent, socialist Canada. Only such a Party can return the NDP to its historic role. Only such a Party can regain the credibility that we had when we were seen and understood to be committed to our principles and able to offer a clear alternative to the destructiveness of capitalism. Only such a Party can establish a socialist democracy as the immediate solution to the inhumanity and irrationality of capitalism.

The Left Caucus of the NDP seeks to facilitate communication and discussion among socialists within the NDP. We see the need for a broad, organized left within the Party to ensure that the leadership remains accountable to the democratically decided Convention resolutions and policies. Coordinated efforts are needed to root the Party in the daily struggles of working people in order to mobilize them to build socialism in Canada.

For further information or to join the Left Caucus, write us at:
191 Montclair Avenue Toronto, Ontario M5P 1R1 *(H. Kopyto residence -ed.)*

**Regina Manifesto: the 1933 anti-capitalist founding statement of the CCF, precursor to the NDP*

(Found in 1989)

A SOCIALIST NEW YEAR'S SOCIAL

The Ontario NDP Left Caucus invites you for an evening of

FOOD! CONVERSATION! MUSIC! DANCING! FUN!

A chance for the Left to celebrate what's left of the old year and greet the new year with the confident optimism of socialist comeraderie.

Party Time: **from 7:30 p.m. till the wee hours**

Party Place: **211 Dunvegan Rd. (Harry Kopyto's place)**

Party Price: **$15 for employed, $7 for unwaged**

Admission price covers the cost of a buffet meal, coffee and dessert.
As for holiday spirits......B.Y.O.B.

What better way to celebrate the spirit of the future than with those who struggle together to build a bright new future with a socialist vision? So call right away and let us know that you're coming. That way we will be able to organize to get enough food and provide a rousing celebration.

Directions:Proceed along Avenue Road to Hillholm (one block south of Chaplin Crescent, which is just south of Eglinton). Go west along Hillholm for 2 blocks to arrive at Dunvegan. Turn north on Dunvegan for one block to arrive at #211.

Don't miss the party. We are expecting you!

RSVP
Joe Steinbok
322- 0913